

Trip to Middle East and Europe 12/29/77-1/6/78. No 4

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12/13/77

THE WHITE HOUSE :-
WASHINGTON

At best - unsurpassed

Some areas - poor, non-existent

Phys Assts Nurse practitioners

Pub/Priv Health Ins support

Medicare/aid - Rural

Demon projects - Urban

Talmadge - Randolph - Leaky - Hartung
Hustenkowski - Rogers - Wilman -
Staggs - Brodhead

12/13/77

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr Pat Moynihan

Roth - attach to tariff
bill & veto

Nelson, R.B., Nath, May - me

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CIVIC ADDRESS
on behalf of the Citizens of Delhi
TO
H.E. JIMMY CARTER
President of the U.S.A.
AND
H.E. ROSALYNN CARTER

Mr. President and Mrs. Carter,

We, the people of Delhi, have great pleasure in having you in our midst at this historical Ramlila Maidan. This is an ancient meeting ground between the Old and New Delhi; it has now become the focus for political activities and also the place of religious celebrations. Eighteen years ago, on this ground, we had the privilege to receive President Eisenhower.

We welcome you on this New Year's Day which, we hope, will see a reaffirmation of the friendship between the American and the Indian people and will open a new chapter of trust and cooperation between our two countries.

The sea of humanity extending from Turkman Gate to Ajmeri Gate is the proof of the goodwill of the Indian people towards your country. I am sure, wherever you go in our country, you will receive the same warmth of reception from our people.

Columbus discovered America when he was in search of India and our two nations have been discovering each other ever since. Our scholars have been fascinated by the ideas, ideals and philosophy of each other. The Yale University was founded by Elihu Yale after his work in India. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman drew inspiration from our ancient epics and scriptures, and Swami Vivekananda in turn explained to the American audience the rich content of our spiritual and philosophic heritage. Since our Independence, students, scholars, scientists and tens of thousands of ordinary people have come and gone and built bonds of personal kinship between our people. We can now truly say that our people have come to know and admire each other.

Mr. President, we welcome you not just as the head of a great nation, but as a crusader for Freedom, Equality, Justice and Individual Rights. You have raised your voice against exploitation and atrocities bred through racial discrimination. We see in you a Champion of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in the World.

Mr. President, when we were fashioning our own independent institutions, we drew on ideas and concepts from your constitution and the working of your democracy. Last year, our people showed how they cherish their freedom and respect the democratic institutions which we gave to ourselves in our own constitution. The love of these fundamental rights could not be smothered even in the so-called national emergency. Last year's bloodless revolution restored our rights in the same non-violent way that we won our freedom.

With the unmistakable mandate from the people, our Government is determined to end poverty, scarcity and unemployment. We seek the understanding and goodwill of all friendly nations in our efforts. The United States of America has been a willing and generous partner in our quest for development. We are confident that your present visit and your conversations with our leaders will usher in a new era of trust and cooperation in the social, economic and technological fields between our two countries and strengthen world peace.

Mr. President, we would also like to welcome Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, in our midst. Her services towards the cause of retarded children, the old and the invalid, and the promotion of the rights of women give us inspiration for the development of such social services in our own country.

We are happy to have with us the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, Dr. Brzezinski, your National Security Adviser and other distinguished members of the Party.

Mr. President, as a memento of your kind visit, may we present a few items of Indian handicraft, which we hope will be accepted as a token of our respect, affection and good wishes for you and Mrs. Carter and as a souvenir from the people of this ancient City.

Ram Lila Maidan, Delhi
January 1, 1978

With best wishes from
the Citizens of Delhi

संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका के राष्ट्रपति
महामहिम श्री जिमी कार्टर

तथा

महामान्या श्रीमती रोजलिन कार्टर

के सम्मान में

दिल्ली के नागरिकों की ओर से

अभिनन्दन-पत्र

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी,
तथा श्रीमती कार्टर,

हम, दिल्ली के नागरिक, इस ऐतिहासिक रामलीला मैदान में आपको अपने बीच पाकर अपार हर्ष का अनुभव कर रहे हैं। पुरानी और नई दिल्ली के बीचों-बीच स्थित यह मैदान अत्यन्त प्राचीन है और अब यह राजनैतिक गतिविधियों और धार्मिक समारोहों का केन्द्र-स्थल बन चुका है। अठारह वर्ष पूर्व, इसी मैदान में, हमें राष्ट्रपति आइजनहावर का स्वागत करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था।

आज नव वर्ष के शुभ दिवस पर आपका स्वागत करते हुये हम मंगल-कामना करते हैं कि आपके शुभागमन से अमेरिकी और भारतीय जनता की मैत्री मजबूत होगी और हमारे दोनों देशों के बीच विश्वास और सहयोग के नये अध्याय का सूत्रपात होगा।

तुर्कमान गेट से लेकर अजमेरी गेट तक फैला विशाल जनसमूह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि भारतीय जनता के हृदय में आपके देश के प्रति कितना प्रेम एवं सद्भाव है। मुझे विश्वास है कि श्रीमन्, आप देश के जिस भाग में भी जायेंगे, भारतीय जनता द्वारा इसी उत्साह के साथ आपका स्वागत होगा।

कोलम्बस ने अमेरिका की खोज उस समय की थी जबकि वह भारत की खोज के लिए निकला था और उसी समय से हमारे दोनों देश भी एक दूसरे को समझने और समीप आने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। हमारे विद्वानों को एक दूसरे के विचार, आदर्श तथा दर्शन ने आकर्षित किया है। याले विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना इलिहू याले के भारत में आने और यहां कार्य करने के फलस्वरूप हुई थी। राल्फ वाल्डो इमर्सन, हेनरी डेविड थोरे और वाल्ट व्हीटमैन ने हमारे महाकाव्यों और धार्मिक लेखों से प्रेरणा ग्रहण की और इसी प्रकार स्वामी विवेकानन्द ने भी अमेरिकी जनता को भारत की आध्यात्मिक और दार्शनिक विरासत की गहराइयों की अनुभूति प्रदान की। आजादी मिलने के बाद से अनेकानेक विद्यार्थी, विद्वान, वैज्ञानिक और सैकड़ों-हजारों की संख्या में हमारे नागरिकों के आदान-प्रदान से दोनों देशों की जनता के बीच वैयक्तिक सम्बन्ध स्थापित हुये हैं। अब हम आत्म-विश्वास के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हमारी जनता परस्पर एक दूसरे को समझती है और आदर की भावना से देखती है।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
विष्णो के गणेशाय

महामहिम, हम आपका स्वागत में केवल एक महान देश के राष्ट्रपति के रूप में कर रहे हैं, बल्कि स्वतंत्रता, समानता, न्याय और वैश्विक अधिकारों के प्रबल समर्थक के रूप में भी करते हैं। आपने रंग-भेद के आधार पर होने वाले भोषण और भ्रष्टाचारों के विरुद्ध जोरदार आवाज उठाई है। हम आपकी अनर्हतीय जगत में एक भाति-दूत, परम-मित्र और निकट सहयोगी के रूप में देखते हैं।

PRESS- 2 WORK

LUBENS- 400th

Belgium - Battleground →
symbol of peace
home of Int organization

Historic alliance

our own freedom
PROTECT by PREVENTION
SABENA AIR → BELGIUM

Belgian
toast

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Toast ideas

- 1) Your last visit here--press conference, two people showed up. Just to be sure, we didn't schedule one this time.
- 2) That was a working trip, like this one. No time to see country. You've had to miss the celebrations of 400th anniversary of Rubens' birth, but will still come back for culture of Belgium.
- 3) Belgium of the cottage industry - now home of institutions which symbolize hope for peace.
- 4) When you saw Tindemans in May, he called us "big brother" to Belgium. We mean that in best, cooperative way - shared respect + protection.
- 5) Belg. just got air route to Atlanta - wonderful chance for US-Belgium contact.

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PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

PALAIS DES CONGRES

PARIS, FRANCE

JANUARY 4, 1978

MR FOREIGN MINISTER,

PRESIDENTS OF ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DAILY
WORK TO INSURE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
OUR TWO COUNTRIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN
OF FRANCE & OF THE UNITED STATES;

REGIMENT
YORKTOWN →

WHEN OUR DEMOCRACY WAS BORN, FRANCE WAS THERE.

FOR MORE THAN 200 YEARS OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE
SHARED THE SAME IDEALS AND CULTURE.

THERE IS ONE BELIEF ABOVE ALL OTHERS THAT HAS MADE
US WHAT WE ARE. THIS IS THE BELIEF THAT THE RIGHTS OF
THE INDIVIDUAL INHERENTLY STAND HIGHER THAN THE CLAIMS
OF THE STATE.

THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT THE AMERICAN AND
FRENCH PEOPLES, EACH IN TURN, CARRIED FORWARD TO THE
WORLD TWO CENTURIES AGO. THESE ARE THE VALUES WHICH
THE WORLD STILL DEPENDS UPON US TO AFFIRM.

DEMOCRACY WAS THEN A NEW AND . . .

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DEMOCRACY WAS THEN A NEW AND UNTRIED CONCEPT;
NOW IT IS THE STANDARD FOR OUR WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, INSPIRED
SO GREATLY BY FRENCH PHILOSOPHY, SPOKE OF THE "UNALIENABLE
RIGHTS" OF PERSONS: "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS."

THESE RIGHTS WERE CONTROVERSIAL THEN; NOW THEY ARE
THE MEASURE BY WHICH THE FAITHFULNESS OF GOVERNMENTS IS
TESTED.

DEMOCRACY IS INDEED A COMPELLING IDEA, AN IDEA SO
ATTRACTIVE THAT EVEN ITS ENEMIES NOW ATTEMPT TO CLOAK
REPRESSION WITH FALSE DEMOCRATIC LABELS.

BUT OUR DEMOCRATIC ORDER HAS COME UNDER CHALLENGE.
THERE ARE THOSE WHO QUESTION WHETHER DEMOCRATIC VALUES
ARE APPROPRIATE FOR CONTEMPORARY CIRCUMSTANCES.

VOICES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD ASK WHETHER NOTIONS
OF FREE SPEECH, PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND FREELY-CHOSEN
GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE PUSHED ASIDE, IN THE STRUGGLE
TO OVERCOME POVERTY.

VOICES IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD ASK WHETHER
DEMOCRACY EQUIPS US FOR THE FRENZIED PACE OF CHANGE IN
OUR MODERN LIVES.

WE HAVE HEARD WARNINGS THAT A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
CANNOT IMPOSE ON ITSELF THE RESTRAINT AND SELF-DISCIPLINE
NECESSARY TO COPE WITH PERSISTENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE DISPARATE ELEMENTS OF OUR
SOCIETIES CANNOT COHERE IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

GOVERNMENTS EVERYWHERE HAVE BEGUN TO SEEM
REMOTE, IMPERSONAL, INCOMPETENT. MANY PEOPLE QUESTION
WHETHER ANY GOVERNMENT CAN HEAR THEIR DISTANT AND
SOLITARY VOICES.

THESE PROBLEMS ARE REAL. . . .

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THESE PROBLEMS ARE REAL. WE MUST ADMIT THEIR
EXISTENCE.

BUT WE MUST ALSO BEAR THE BURDEN THAT DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY IMPOSES ON THOSE WHO ARE PART OF IT.

THAT IS TO PROCLAIM OUR UNSHAKEN FAITH IN THE VALUES
OF OUR DEMOCRATIC NATIONS, AND OUR BELIEF THAT THOSE
VALUES ARE STILL RELEVANT -- TO RICH AND POOR, IN NORTH
AND SOUTH, EAST AND WEST, AS CONSTANT NOW AS THEY WERE
WHEN OUR ^{own} FOREBEARS SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
AND YOURS PROCLAIMED THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF
MAN.

WE DEFEND THESE VALUES BECAUSE THEY ARE RIGHT, AND
BECAUSE THERE IS NO HIGHER PURPOSE FOR THE STATE THAN TO
PRESERVE THESE RIGHTS FOR ITS CITIZENS.

BUT WE DEFEND THEM ALSO IN THE FAITH THAT THERE IS
NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PRESERVING OUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES
AND MEETING CHALLENGES WHICH FACE OUR MODERN SOCIETIES.

IT IS PRECISELY WHEN DEMOCRACY IS UP AGAINST
DIFFICULT CHALLENGES THAT ITS LEADERS MUST SHOW FIRMNESS
IN RESISTING THE TEMPTATION OF FINDING SOLUTIONS IN
NON-DEMOCRATIC FORCES.

THIS WEEK, IN INDIA, I DISCUSSED OUR BELIEF THAT
ONLY THROUGH RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES CAN
DEVELOPING NATIONS ACHIEVE THEIR FULL ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL POTENTIAL.

IN INDIA
THAT IS OUR FAITH. [^]THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY
"IS PROVING THAT IT IS TRUE.

IN FRANCE
HERE, WE MEET AS INDUSTRIALIZED POWERS TO AFFIRM
THAT OUR CONFIDENCE IN A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE FOR
THESE DEVELOPED
~~INDUSTRIALIZED~~ [^]SOCIETIES IS EQUALLY STRONG.

DEMOCRACY IS NOT MERELY RIGHT AND JUST . . .

DEMOCRACY IS NOT MERELY RIGHT AND JUST; IT IS
ALSO THE SYSTEM THAT IS MOST CONSISTENT WITH HUMAN NATURE.

IT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ORGANIZE SOCIETY
FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

WHERE THE STATE DOMINATES EVERYTHING, ONLY THE
NARROW TALENTS OF THE BUREAUCRAT ARE FREE TO FLOWER.

BUT THE PLURALISTIC NATURE OF A DEMOCRACY ALLOWS
FOR A BROAD RANGE OF TALENTS TO SUCCEED -- IN GOVERNMENT,
IN THE ARTS, IN LABOR, IN TECHNOLOGY, IN THE SCIENCES,
AND IN THE MARKETPLACE.

DEMOCRACY UNLEASHES THE INNATE CREATIVE ENERGY
IN EACH OF US.

WE NEED LOOK NO FURTHER BACK THAN THE LAST THREE
DECADES TO SEE UNPARALLELED SUCCESS. THESE YEARS HAVE BEEN
AN EXTRAORDINARY TIME FOR FRANCE, FOR WESTERN EUROPE,
THE UNITED STATES, AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

FRANCE AND ITS PARTNERS IN WESTERN EUROPE ROSE
FROM THE DESTRUCTION AND TURMOIL OF WORLD WAR II TO BUILD
ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES MORE THRIVING AND PRODUCTIVE
THAN EVER BEFORE, AND TO REGAIN POSITIONS OF WORLD
LEADERSHIP.

NEVER HAVE SO MANY NEW JOBS AND SO MUCH NEW
WEALTH BEEN CREATED, OR SO MUCH CHANGE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES BEEN
MANAGED SO EFFECTIVELY -- AND YET WITH SO MUCH FREEDOM.

ALL OF THIS IS NO ACCIDENT. NATIONS WITH OTHER
POLITICAL SYSTEMS, IN SPITE OF THEIR GREAT HUMAN AND
NATURAL RESOURCES, HAVE NOT DONE AS WELL.

AND DEMOCRACY PROTECTS US AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF
MODERNIZATION. IT HELPS US CONSTANTLY TO REDUCE THE
RISE COMPLEXITY OF MODERN LIFE TO HUMAN TERMS.

AT A TIME WHEN THE COMPUTER MAKES TOTAL STATE
CONTROL MORE POSSIBLE THAN EVER -- PROCESSING PEOPLE
LIKE NUMBERS -- DEMOCRACY STANDS GUARD, PROTECTING THE
UNIQUENESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

THIS IS WHY THE GREAT TREND OF EMIGRATION IN THE
WORLD IS FROM THOSE STATES WHICH DENY BASIC RIGHTS TO
THEIR PEOPLE, AND TOWARD THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WEST.

THAT IS WHY INDIA HAS REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO
RULE BY THE PEOPLE AND WHY PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND GREECE
HAVE REJOINED THE RANKS OF EUROPE'S DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

WE DO NOT FEAR THE CHALLENGES WHICH TEST OUR
CHOSEN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

BUT TODAY WE NEED A NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY.

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THE FIRST TASK ON THIS AGENDA IS TO DEVISE WAYS
IN WHICH GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BETTER
AND MORE QUICKLY RESPOND TO THE HIGHER STANDARDS OF
LEADERSHIP AND SERVICE DEMANDED BY OUR PEOPLE.

THIS IS A TIME OF TESTING. ALREADY THE VARIED
EXPERIMENTS ARE UNDER WAY, ACCORDING TO THE UNIQUE
TRADITIONS AND NEEDS OF EACH COUNTRY.

IN WESTERN EUROPE, SUCCESSFUL SHARING OF THE
FRUITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY HAS
PROVIDED A WAY TO HELP OVERCOME MOUNTING SOCIAL
PROBLEMS.

IN FRANCE, YOU ARE MAKING . . .

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IN FRANCE, YOU ARE MAKING A YOUNG CONSTITUTION
WORK, IN BALANCING AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND
THE LEGISLATURE.

IN SOME COUNTRIES, LIKE GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA,
THERE ARE CONTINUING EXPERIMENTS IN NEW FORMS OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT.

THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY-ARE
PLANNING TO HOLD DIRECT ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT.

IN MY OWN NATION, WE ARE TRYING TO REDUCE
GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN AREAS BETTER LEFT TO PRIVATE
BUSINESS OR THE INDIVIDUAL.

~~SEVERAL~~
AND IN ~~SOME~~ SOME NATIONS THERE IS EMPHASIS ON
STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON
DECENTRALIZING POWER, AND ON WORKING THROUGH VOLUNTARY
ASSOCIATIONS TO MEET PARTICULAR PROBLEMS AND NEEDS.

IN THESE AND OTHER WAYS WE CAN MAKE GOVERNMENT
MORE RESPONSIVE, ACCOUNTABLE, AND CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE,
FOSTERING A RENEWED SENSE OF CONFIDENCE IN OUR NATIONAL
AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

WE CAN ALSO FIND NEW ANSWERS TO THE OLD PROBLEMS
OF COMBINING FREEDOM WITH RESPONSIBILITY. AS
PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING WROTE IN HIS BOOK,
TOWARDS A NEW DEMOCRACY:

THE PLURALISM OF POWER GUARANTEES . . .

"THE PLURALISM OF POWER GUARANTEES FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS DOES NOT RESULT IN DISORDER, BUT IN
A BETTER BALANCE OF ORDER WITHIN FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY."

* * *

THE SECOND ITEM ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY
IS THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE.

WE MUST NOT ONLY RESTORE GROWTH, CONTROL
INFLATION, AND REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT.

WE MUST ALSO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC
ECONOMIC SYSTEM CAN ADAPT TO THE DEMANDS PLACED ON IT.

THIS MEANS PROVING AGAIN THAT WE HAVE THE DISCIPLINE
TO PURSUE OUR FUTURE, NO LESS THAN OUR CURRENT INTERESTS,
SO THAT CONTENDING DOMESTIC GROUPS WILL NOT PRODUCE CHAOS
AND DISCORD, BUT A NEW HARMONY OF EFFORT FOR THE COMMON
GOOD.

IT MEANS INCREASING OUR EFFORTS . .

IT MEANS INCREASING OUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE
FRUITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH REACH ALL PARTS OF SOCIETY, SO THAT
EACH INDIVIDUAL WILL SHARE THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

AND IT MEANS USING OUR RESOURCES TO PROMOTE HUMAN
DEVELOPMENT -- NOT JUST GROWTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

OUR DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIES NOW HAVE UNPRECEDENTED
STRENGTH TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE.

WE HAVE SKILLED WORK FORCES. WE HAVE PRODUCTIVE
PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT, EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT, AND THE WILL
AND MEANS TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH ONE ANOTHER -- BOTH
WITHIN NATIONS AND AMONG NATIONS.

AND, IN THE FREE MARKET, WE HAVE A MEANS OF MATCHING
PRODUCTION TO HUMAN NEEDS THAT IS SWIFTER AND MORE SUBTLE
THAN ANY COMPUTER, MORE SENSITIVE TO SOCIETY'S REQUIREMENTS
THAN ANY STATE COMMITTEE.

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MY COUNTRY IS ABLE . . .

-- 14 --

MY COUNTRY IS ABLE AND WILLING TO JOIN WITH ITS
PARTNERS IN BUILDING ON THAT STRENGTH, TO PUT THE GLOBAL
ECONOMY ON THE PATH TO GROWTH AND RISING PROSPERITY.

AMERICA'S EFFORTS WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARD MAINTAINING
THE STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR, CONTINUING STEADY PROGRESS
AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION, AND STIMULATING PRI-
VATE INVESTMENT. THIS YEAR WE WILL CUT TAXES ^{SUBSTANTIALLY} FOR BOTH
BUSINESS AND CONSUMERS. WE WILL TAKE THESE STEPS PRI-
MARILY BECAUSE THEY ARE IN OUR OWN INTEREST, BUT ALSO
BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED NON-
INFLATIONARY RECOVERY IN THE UNITED STATES TO THE
ECONOMIES OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

WE ARE WORKING WITH OUR ECONOMIC PARTNERS IN THE
GENEVA TRADE NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH RAPID AGREEMENT THAT
WILL IMPROVE THE OPEN TRADING SYSTEM, EXPAND COMMERCE,
AND CREATE NEW JOBS.

AND FOLLOWING THE FRENCH EXAMPLE, WE ARE HARD
AT WORK ON A COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAM WHICH WILL
LESSEN OUR IMPORTS OF FOREIGN OIL, REDUCE UNDUE
DEPENDENCE, AND CUT THE DEFICIT IN OUR BALANCE OF TRADE.

FRANCE AND AMERICA AND THE OTHER INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACIES ARE EMERGING FROM THE ECONOMIC RECESSION
OF RECENT YEARS.

SOME OF US CAN TURN OUR ATTENTION AT ONCE TO
NON-INFLATIONARY GROWTH. OTHERS MUST FIRST TAKE
PAINFUL MEASURES TO REDUCE INFLATION.

AS MORE NATIONS ARE ABLE TO PURSUE HIGHER GROWTH,
OUR ECONOMIES WILL CREATE MORE JOBS. UNEMPLOYMENT WILL
GO DOWN.

CONFIDENCE IN STEADY GROWTH . . .

CONFIDENCE IN STEADY GROWTH WILL REDUCE PRESSURES
FOR TRADE RESTRICTIONS, MAKE IT EASIER FOR US TO ADAPT
TO CHANGES WITHIN OUR SOCIETIES, HELP US MAKE MORE
EFFICIENT USE OF ENERGY, AND MAKE IT EASIER FOR COUNTRIES
WITH PAYMENTS SURPLUSES TO OPEN THEIR MARKETS TO
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALIKE.

BUT THERE ARE ALSO MANY OTHER ECONOMIC NEEDS TODAY.

THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS THAT SERVED US WELL-IN
THE PAST NEED TO BE STRENGTHENED.

WE MUST REACH A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF BASIC
ECONOMIC FORCES SO THAT WE CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF
SIMULTANEOUS INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

WE MUST DEVOTE MUCH GREATER EFFORT TO FURTHER
ADVANCES IN HIGH TECHNOLOGY, TO HELP ALL OUR NATIONS
COMPETE EFFECTIVELY IN TOMORROW'S MARKETS.

WE MUST DEVELOP NEW AND . . .

WE MUST DEVELOP NEW AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES
AND SERVICES, SO THAT WE CAN MODERATE THE IMPACT ON OUR
PEOPLES OF CHANGE IMPOSED BY INCREASED GLOBAL COMPETITION
FOR JOBS AND MARKETS.

WE MUST SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT.
UNLESS WE DO, PART OF AN ENTIRE GENERATION COULD BE
ESTRANGED FROM OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

WE MUST TAKE STEPS TO AVOID EXPORTING OUR
ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES TO OTHER NATIONS, WHETHER RICH
OR POOR.

AND WE MUST USE THE TOOLS OF SHARED FREEDOM TO
INCREASE THE CHOICES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR ECONOMIC
SYSTEM.

WE CAN SHARE OUR EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT --
IN EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SERVICES, THE ORGANIZATION
AND MANAGEMENT OF FARM AND FACTORY.

AT THE HEART OF ALL THESE EFFORTS . .

AT THE HEART OF ALL THESE EFFORTS IS CONTINUED
COOPERATION ALONG WITH OUR OTHER ECONOMIC PARTNERS IN
SUCH WAYS AS THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS FIRST PROPOSED BY
FRANCE.

THIS COOPERATION SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE INDIVIDUALITY
OF EACH NATION WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT OUR ECONOMIC
WELLBEING WILL RISE OR FALL TOGETHER.

* * *

THE THIRD TASK ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY
IS TO PROVIDE FOR OUR MUTUAL SECURITY.

I COME TO FRANCE TODAY RECOGNIZING THAT OUR TWO
NATIONS SHARE A BASIC COMMITMENT TO PRESERVE OUR
HARD-WON FREEDOM. WE ARE ABLE, WITH OUR ALLIES, TO KEEP
OUR FREEDOM PRECISELY BECAUSE WE ARE MILITARILY STRONG.

OUR CENTRAL SECURITY PROBLEM TODAY IS MAINTAINING
OUR WILL TO KEEP THE MILITARY STRENGTH WE NEED, WHILE
SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD A BETTER PEACE.

MILITARY POWER WITHOUT DETENTE MAY LEAD TO CONFLICT;
BUT DETENTE WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE NATO ALLIANCE
AND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE.

BOTH FRANCE AND AMERICA PROVE THAT THE PEOPLES
OF A DEMOCRACY CAN AND WILL SUPPORT THESE JOINT GOALS OF
STRENGTH AND PEACE.

THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND
PEOPLE TO THE SECURITY OF EUROPE IS ABSOLUTE.

THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN IN
EUROPE WHATEVER FORCES ARE NEEDED TO MEET THAT COMMITMENT.

WE ARE ALSO THANKFUL THAT FRANCE MAINTAINS AND IMPROVES
FORCES THAT ARE ESSENTIAL FOR DEFENSE.

BUT WE ALSO SEE THE NEED TO MOVE BEYOND
CONFRONTATION, TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST
AND WEST, AND TO PROGRESS TOWARD ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK BALANCED AND MUTUAL
LIMITS ON QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DEPLOYMENT OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THEN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, LEADING TO THE EVENTUAL
ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A POTENTIAL DESTRUCTIVE
FORCE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK EARLY AGREEMENT ON A
COMPREHENSIVE BAN OF THE TESTING OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES,
BOTH MILITARY WEAPONS AND SO-CALLED PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
DEVICES.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

WE WILL WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS TO ACHIEVE THE
ADVANTAGES WHICH SUCH AGREEMENTS CAN BRING.

WHILE THE APPROACHES OF FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES
TO THESE ISSUES MAY SOMETIMES DIFFER, OUR DESIRE TO BUILD
A MORE STABLE PEACE IS ONE AND THE SAME.

AND IN ALL THESE EFFORTS, WE WILL CONSULT AND
COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH YOU, AND WITH OUR OTHER ALLIES --
RECOGNIZING THE INDEPENDENCE OF EACH NATION, BUT ALSO
OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS AND COMMITMENTS.

* * *

THE FOURTH TASK ON DEMOCRACY'S NEW AGENDA IS THE
EFFORT OF EUROPEANS TO SHAPE THEIR FUTURE.

FOR THE GOAL YOU HAVE SET . . .

FOR THE GOAL YOU HAVE SET FOR YOURSELVES, WITH
YOUR PARTNERS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, IS NOTHING
LESS THAN TO TRANSFORM AND IMPROVE RELATIONS AMONG
STATES WITH ANCIENT TRADITIONS, UNIQUE HISTORIES, AND
LEGITIMATE PRIDE IN NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT.

THE UNITED STATES WILL GIVE ITS UNQUALIFIED
SUPPORT TO WHAT YOU AND YOUR PARTNERS IN THE NINE ARE
DOING TO STRENGTHEN EUROPEAN COOPERATION -- FOR WE SEE
EUROPEAN STRENGTH AND UNITY AS A BOON AND NOT AS A
THREAT TO US.

THE REAL THREAT TO ^{THE} ~~ALL OUR~~ INTEREST ^{OF US ALL} WOULD BE
ECONOMIC WEAKNESS AND DISUNITY.

*

*

*

THE FIFTH AND FINAL ITEM ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR
DEMOCRACY IS TO COOPERATE AMONG OURSELVES IN ADAPTING
TO GLOBAL CHANGE.

THE SAME FACTORS THAT LED TO OUR ECONOMIC SUCCESSES
OVER THE PAST TWO GENERATIONS -- SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,
EDUCATION AND HEALTH, THE WILL AND WISDOM OF INDIVIDUAL
MEN AND WOMEN -- HAVE ALSO ALTERED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

EUROPEAN NATIONS, INDIVIDUALLY OR TOGETHER, ALSO
HAVE AN INCREASING ROLE TO PLAY BEYOND THE CONTINENT,
PARTICULARLY IN REORDERING RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND
SOUTH.

IT WAS LESS THAN A HUNDRED YEARS . . .

IT WAS LESS THAN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO THAT THE
EUROPEAN POWERS MET TO DIVIDE THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA
AMONG THEM. AND YET TODAY, COLONIALISM HAS NEARLY ENDED.

BEFORE WORLD WAR II, 80 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S
LAND MASS AND 75 PERCENT OF ITS PEOPLE WERE UNDER
WESTERN AUTHORITY. BUT TODAY THERE ARE MORE THAN A
HUNDRED NEW NATIONS, EACH WITH INSISTENT NEEDS AND
DEMANDS.

A FEW YEARS AGO, THE WEST MADE VIRTUALLY ALL THE
DECISIONS ABOUT THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

BUT NOW, IMPORTANT RESOURCES ARE ALSO UNDER THE
CONTROL OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- AS THE ENERGY CRISIS
HAS MADE CLEAR. THE COUNCILS OF ECONOMIC ACTION CAN NO
LONGER BE LIMITED TO A FEW.

DURING THIS TRIP, I HAVE SEEN HOW THE DEVELOPING
NATIONS ARE CREATING A NEW ROLE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE
WORLD'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM, REDISTRIBUTING GLOBAL POWER,
POSING NEW GLOBAL PROBLEMS, AND ASSUMING NEW RIGHTS AND
RESPONSIBILITIES.

WE HAVE LONG UNDERSTOOD THAT GREATER INDIVIDUAL
EQUALITY CAN BRING FORTH GREATER PROSPERITY IN OUR
DOMESTIC SOCIETIES.

NOW WE ALSO SEE HOW GREATER EQUALITY AMONG
NATIONS CAN PROMOTE THE HEALTH OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY,
INCLUDING OUR OWN.

NO NATION OR EVEN A SMALL GROUP OF NATIONS CAN
ANY LONGER SHAPE ITS DESTINY ALONE.

IN PROPOSING THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE.

IN PROPOSING THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE,
PRESIDENT GISCARD SPOKE OF CREATING NEW FORMS OF
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

WHAT HE SAID THEN STANDS AS THE WATCHWORD OF ALL
OUR EFFORTS TOGETHER:

"(THIS) SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A VICTORY FOR
SOME COUNTRIES OVER OTHERS, ACHIEVED BY TAKING ADVANTAGE
OF TEMPORARY POWER RELATIONSHIPS. RATHER IT MUST BE A
VICTORY OF MANKIND OVER ITSELF "

IF WE MOVE IN THAT SPIRIT, AND DIRECT OUR
EFFORTS TOGETHER TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE
OUR NATIONS AND THE WORLD, THEN WE SHALL SURELY GAIN
THAT VICTORY.

WE WILL VINDICATE OUR DEEP AND ABIDING FAITH IN
THE STRENGTH OF DEMOCRACY TO GROW AND DEVELOP WITH
THE TIMES.

SIX DAYS AGO, I LEFT THE UNITED STATES ON A TOUR
WHOSE CONSTANT THEME HAS BEEN THE UNIVERSAL VITALITY OF
DEMOCRACY.

IN POLAND, IRAN, INDIA, SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, AND
NOW IN FRANCE, I HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR MODERN STRUGGLE
IS NOT ONLY TO ESTABLISH PEACE, BUT ALSO TO PROTECT THE
INDIVIDUAL FROM THE POWER OF THE STATE.

*

*

*

TOMORROW, WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING,
I WILL LEAVE PARIS TO VISIT THE BEACHES AT NORMANDY.
IF THE NAMES OMAHA, UTAH, JUNO, GOLD, ^{and Sword} WILL ALWAYS
LIVE IN THE MEMORIES OF BOTH OUR PEOPLES, IT IS BECAUSE
THEY REMIND US AT WHAT COST OUR LIBERTIES HAVE
BEEN PURCHASED, AND WHAT A PRECIOUS HERITAGE HAS BEEN
LEFT FOR US TO DEFEND.

THESE NAMES REMIND US THAT LIBERTY IS NOT SECURED
WITH ONE DEFENSE, BUT MUST BE STRUGGLED FOR AGAIN -- AND
AGAIN -- AND AGAIN.

OUR ANCESTORS MADE THEIR DEFENSE WITH PRINCIPLES,
AND WITH REVOLUTION.

PEOPLE OF MY PARENTS' GENERATION, AND OF MY OWN,
BORE ARMS IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM.

MANY OF THEM ARE LEFT AT NORMANDY BEACH, AND AT
THE THOUSAND OTHER SHRINES TO LIBERTY ACROSS THE WORLD.

THOUGH WE WILL ALWAYS BE PREPARED, WE PRAY THAT
THEIR SACRIFICE IN BATTLE NEED NEVER BE REPEATED; AND
WE KNOW THAT WAR NEED NOT COME AGAIN, SO LONG AS WE
TRANSMIT OUR DEVOTION TO THOSE VALUES OF FREE PEOPLE --
STRENGTHENED AND RENEWED -- TO EACH SUCCEEDING GENERATION.

#

Your Imperial Majesties, distinguished Officials
of Iran and citizens of Iran:

My own nation has been blessed
this year by an official visit of His
Imperial Majesty The Shah and by The
Shahbanou, Empress Farah. This was a
fine gesture of friendship, and we also
benefitted from extensive discussions of
matters of importance to Iran and to
the United States.

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Extensive talks in US

and please

at the end of this year

I am proud, to come to Iran, ~~to end one year~~, my first in office (and ~~xxxx~~ the 27th for ^{the} your Shah), and to begin another, *new year with our close friends and allies.* In these times of endings and beginnings, I look forward to ^{consulting} ~~reflecting~~ with the Shah about two of the issues that have most dominated our thoughts in the year just past and will require our best actions in the years to come.

One is finding solutions to the economic problems of the world's rich and poor. None of these ^{problems} is more important than energy. Neither producers nor consumers *nations* can survive ^{and prosper} if we recklessly exhaust the world's supplies of oil; neither ^{and group of nations} can solve the problem without the cooperation of the ~~was~~ other. It is because ~~I~~ ^{so} *are determined* my nation takes this problem seriously that we ^{plan} ~~soon~~ will have a comprehensive energy ~~plan~~ ^{plan}. It is because I respect the Shah's

** Designed to eliminate waste and to develop alternate sources of energy supply. We are cooperating closely with Iran*

leadership in this area that I have come to him for ~~counsel~~ *consultation and advice.*

The other great issue is bringing peace to troubled areas of the world and turning back the rising tide of armaments. The Shah and I share a hope that peace will ~~soon~~ come ^{soon} to the Middle East; and that, as our military alliance remains unshakeable, we ^{may help to} ~~will~~ reduce the level of tension and armaments throughout the world.

The interests of our nations are built on the interests of individuals, and in all of our discussions we ~~will~~ emphasize guaranteeing our citizens the fullest economic and political human rights.

leaders of Iran,

I come with warm personal feelings for the ~~Shah~~, and I

bring the warm wishes of my country for the people
of ~~Iran~~. *your great country* .

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DRAFT #9
December 28, 1977

Rough draft

PARIS SPEECH

When our democracy was born, France was there.

For more than 200 years our two nations have ^{shared} ~~partaken of~~ the same ideals and culture. [Thomas Jefferson once said that every person had two homelands: his own, and France.]

There is one belief above all others that has made us what we are. This is the belief that the ^{unchanging} rights of the individual stand higher than the claims of the state.

This is the message that the American and French peoples, each in turn, carried forward to the world two centuries ago.

~~These are the rights and~~ ^{which} ~~It is the foundation of the~~ values the world still depends upon us to affirm.

Democracy was ^{that a new and untied concept} ~~controversial~~ then; now it is the standard for our Western civilization. The American Declaration of Independence, inspired ^{so greatly} by French philosophy, spoke of the "unalienable rights" of persons: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These rights were controversial then; now they are the measure by which the faithfulness of governments is tested. Democracy is indeed a compelling idea, an idea so attractive that even its enemies now characterize their ideology -- falsely -- as "democratic."

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But our democratic order has come under challenge. There are those who question whether democratic values are appropriate for contemporary circumstances. Voices in the developing world ask whether notions of free speech, personal liberty, and freely-chosen government should not be pushed aside, in the struggle to overcome poverty. Voices in the industrialized world ask whether democracy equips us for the frenzied pace of change in our modern lives. We have heard warnings that a democratic society cannot impose on itself the restraint and self-discipline necessary to cope with ^{persistent} our economic problems. We have heard that the disparate elements of our societies cannot cohere in a democratic system. Governments everywhere have begun to seem remote, impersonal, incompetent. Many people question whether any government can hear their ^{distant and} solitary voices.

future interests

These problems are real. We must admit their existence. But we must also bear the burden that democratic society imposes on those who are part of it. That is to proclaim our unshaken faith in the values of our democratic nations, and our belief that those values are still relevant -- to rich and poor, in North and South, as constant now as they were when my forebears ^{proclaimed} signed the Declaration of Independence and yours ^{understand} the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

We defend ^{and} these values because they are right, and because there is no higher purpose for the state than to preserve these rights for its citizens. But we defend

them also in the faith that there is no contradiction
between ^{preserving} our democratic values and the ^{meeting the} challenges ~~our~~ which face our
modern societies. ~~face.~~

This week, in India, I discussed our belief that
only through respect for individual liberties can
developing nations achieve their full economic and
political potential. That ^{is} ~~was~~ ~~a lesson~~ ~~the world's~~
~~largest democracy well understood.~~ ^{is proving that it is true.}

Here we meet as industrialized powers to affirm confidence in ~~our own~~ democratic future is equally strong. that our faith ~~is no less strong.~~

Democracy is not merely right and just; it is also the system that is most consistent with human nature. It is the most effective way to organize society for the common good.

Where the state dominates everything, only the narrow talents of the bureaucrat are free to flower. But the pluralistic nature of a democracy allows for a broad range of talents to succeed -- in government, in the arts, in labor, in the ^{technology}~~academy~~, in the sciences, and in the marketplace. Democracy unleashes the innate creative energy in each of us.

We need look no further back than the last three decades to see unparalleled success. These years have been an extraordinary time for France, for Western Europe, the United States, and other democratic nations.

France and its partners in Western Europe rose from *destruction and* the turmoil of World War II to build economies and

societies more thriving and productive than ever before, and to regain positions of ^{World} leadership.

Throughout the world of the industrial democracies, never before has a system of government done so well in providing opportunities for individual expression, development, and growth.

Never have so many new jobs and so much new wealth been created, or so much change in people's lives been managed so effectively.

All of this is no accident. Nations with other political systems, in spite of their great human and natural resources, have not done as well.

And democracy protects us against the excesses of modernization. It helps us ^{constantly to} reduce the rising complexity of modern life to human terms. At a time when the computer makes total state control more possible than ever -- processing people like numbers -- democracy stands guard, protecting the uniqueness of the individual.

This is why the great trend of emigration in the world is from those states which deny basic rights to their people, and toward the free nations of the West. That is why India has ^{reaffirmed its commitment to rule by the people} ~~again chosen democracy~~ and why Portugal, Spain, and Greece have rejoined the ranks of Europe's democratic nations. [They have faith in democracy. We should match it with our own.]

[We have heard it said in America that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, and that is what

I believe. It is time for us in the West to reaffirm our faith in our values -- to declare clearly and without hesitation our confidence that the ancient message of France

and America still holds good -- to celebrate democracy.]

We do not fear the challenges which test our chosen form of government.
Today we need a new agenda for democracy.
*just * * **

The first task on this agenda is to devise ways in which government and social institutions can better ^{and more quickly} respond to the ^{higher standards of leadership and service demanded by} ~~needs of~~ our people. This is a time of testing.

Already the ^{varied} experiments ^{are under way.} ~~we need are going on~~, according to the unique traditions and needs of each country.

In Western Europe, the dedication in recent years to sharing economic growth at all levels of society has provided a way to help overcome ^{mounting} ~~other~~ social problems.

In France, you are making a young Constitution work, in balancing authority between ^{the} executive and ^{the} legislature.

In some countries, like Germany, there are continuing experiments in new forms of relations between workers and management.

The member nations of the European Community are planning to hold direct elections for the European Parliament.

In my own nation, we are trying to reduce government regulation in areas better left to ^{private business} ~~industry~~ or the individual.

And in some nations there is emphasis on strengthening the role of local government, on decentralizing power, and on working through voluntary associations to meet particular problems and needs. ~~A century and a half ago, Alexis de Tocqueville saw in these approaches a basic strength of~~

~~American democracy. They are still useful to my own nation,~~
~~and they may prove to have value for others, as well.~~

In these ^{ways} ~~ways~~ and other^s, we can make government more responsive, accountable, and closer to the people, fostering a renewed sense of ^{Confidence in our} national and local community^{ies}.

We can also find new answers to the old problems of combining freedom with responsibility. As President Giscard d'Estaing wrote in his book, Towards A New Democracy:

The pluralism of power guarantees freedom Democratic progress does not result in disorder, but in a better balance of order within freedom and responsibility.

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* * *
The second item on the new agenda for democracy is the economic challenge.

We must not only restore growth, control inflation, and reduce unemployment.

We must also demonstrate that our democratic economic system can adapt to the demands placed on it. This means proving again that we have the discipline to manage our progress so that contending interest groups will not produce chaos and discord, but a new harmony of effort for the common good.

It means increasing our efforts to ensure that the fruits of economic progress reach all parts of society, so that each individual will feel ^{the benefit of} ~~he or she has~~ a personal stake in the economy.

And it means using our resources to promote human development -- not just growth for its own sake.

Our democratic economies ^{now} have ^{unprecedented} the strength to meet this challenge. [And that strength has never been greater.]

We have skilled work forces. We have productive plants and equipment, effective management, and the will and means to cooperate closely (with one another - *both within nations and among nations*).

And, in the free market, we have a means of matching production to human needs that is swifter and more subtle than any computer, more sensitive to society's requirements than any state committee.

My ^{country} nation is able and willing to join in leadership with its partners in building on that strength, to put the global economy on the path to growth and rising prosperity.

America's efforts will be directed toward maintaining the strength of the dollar, injecting new purchasing power into the economy through a ^{major} tax cut, reducing unemployment, and bringing inflation under control.

We are working with our economic partners in the Geneva trade negotiations to reach rapid agreement that will improve the open trading system, expand commerce, and create new jobs. And following the French example, we are hard at work on a comprehensive energy program which will lessen our imports of foreign oil, reduce undue dependence, and cut the deficit in our balance of trade.

France and America and the other industrial democracies are emerging from the economic recession of recent years. Some of us can turn our attention at once to non-inflationary growth. Others must first take [sometimes] painful measures to reduce inflation.

As more nations are able to pursue higher growth,
our economies will create more jobs. Unemployment will go down.
Confidence in
~~Steady, non-inflationary~~ growth will reduce pressures
for trade restrictions, make it easier for us to adapt to
changes within our societies, help us make more efficient
use of energy, and make it easier for countries ¹⁹ with payments
surpluses to open their markets to developed and developing
countries alike.

But there are also many other economic needs today.

The economic institutions that served us well in the
past need to be strengthened.

We must take steps to avoid exporting our economic
difficulties to other nations, whether rich or poor.

We must reach a new understanding of basic economic
forces that will explain and solve the problem of simultaneous
inflation and unemployment.

We must devote much greater ^{effort} ~~resources~~ to further
advances in high technology, to help all our nations compete
effectively in tomorrow's markets.

We must develop new and productive industries and
services, so that we can moderate the impact on our peoples
of change imposed by increased global competition for jobs
and markets.

We must solve the problem of youth unemployment.
Unless we do, part of an entire generation could be estranged
from ~~democracy~~ *our democratic society*.

And we must use the tools of ^{shared freedom} ~~democracy~~ to increase
the choices and opportunities in our economic system. We

can share our experience in social development -- in education, health care, social services, the organization and management of farm and factory.

At the heart of all these efforts is continued cooperation along with our other economic partners in such ~~ways~~ ^{ways} as the Economic Summits which France first proposed by. This cooperation should recognize the individuality of each nation while acknowledging that our ^{economic strength} ~~economies~~ will stand rise or fall together.

* * *

The third task on the new agenda for democracy is to provide for our ^{mutual} security.

Our
~~The central security problem in our democracies today is mobilizing our strength and will to maintain the defenses we need, while seeking opportunities to build a better peace. Defense would be sterile without the pursuit of detente; but detente would be impossible without the NATO Alliance and popular support for a strong defense.~~
maintaining our will to keep the military strength
every opportunity
Military power without the detente may lead to conflict;

Both France and America prove that the peoples of a ^{can and} ~~democracy~~ will support these ^{joint} ~~goals~~ of strength and peace.

I come to France today recognizing that our two nations share a basic commitment to preserve our hard-won freedom. We are able, with our Allies, to keep our freedom precisely because we are militarily strong.

The commitment of the American government and people to the security of Europe is absolute. There should be no doubt that we will maintain in Europe whatever forces are needed to back up that commitment. We are also thankful

that France maintains and improves forces that are essential for defense.

But we also see the need to move beyond confrontation, to resolve the differences between East and West, and to progress toward arms control and disarmament. * While the approaches of France and the United States to these issues may sometimes differ, our desire to build a more stable peace is one and the same. And in all these efforts, we will consult and cooperate closely with you, and with our other Allies -- recognizing the independence of each nation, but also our mutual ^{interests and} commitments. *from last page*

* * *
The fourth task on democracy's new agenda is the effort of Europeans to shape their future. For the goal you have set for yourselves, with your partners in the European Community, is nothing less than to transform ^{and improve} relations among states with ancient traditions, unique ^{legitimate} histories, and pride in national achievement.

The United States will give its unqualified support to what you and your partners in the Nine are doing to strengthen European cooperation -- for we see European strength and unity as a boon and not as a threat to us. The real threat to all our interests would be economic weakness and disunity.

European nations, individually or together, also have an increasing role to play beyond the Continent, particularly in reordering relations between North and South. [The role of France in Africa has set high standards for others to follow.]

* * *

The fifth and final item on the new agenda for democracy is to cooperate among ourselves in adapting to global change.

The same factors that led to our economic successes over the past two generations -- science and technology, education and health, the will and wisdom of individual men and women -- have also altered the relationship between the industrial democracies and the developing world. S

It was less than a hundred years ago that the European powers met to divide the continent of Africa among them. And yet today, colonialism has nearly ended.

Before World War II, 80 percent of the world's land mass and 75 percent of its people were under Western authority. But today there are more than a hundred new nations, each with insistent needs and demands.

A few years ago, the West made virtually all the decisions about the global economy.

But now, important resources are also under the control of developing countries -- as the energy crisis has made clear. The councils of economic action can no longer be limited to a few nations.

During this trip, I have seen how the developing nations are creating a new role for themselves in the world's economic system, redistributing global power, posing new global problems, and assuming new rights and responsibilities.

We have long understood that greater individual equality can bring forth greater prosperity in our domestic

societies. Now we also see how greater equality among nations can promote the health of the global economy, including our own. No nation, ^{or even a small group of nations} can any longer shape its destiny alone.

In proposing the North-South Conference, President Giscard spoke of creating new forms of international cooperation. What he said then stands as the watchword of all our efforts together:

(This) should not constitute a victory for some countries over others, achieved by taking advantage of temporary power relationships. Rather it must be a victory of mankind over itself . . .

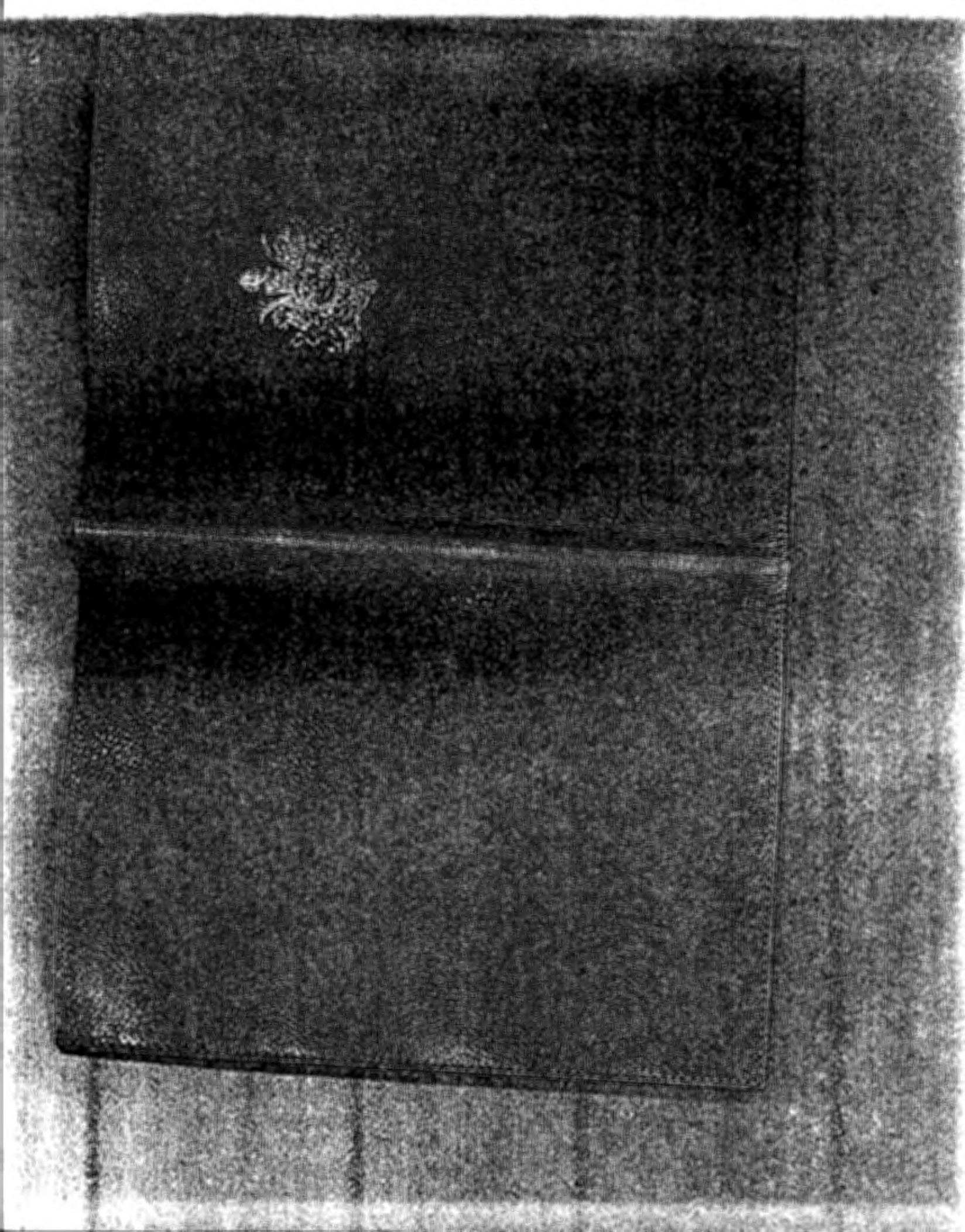
If we move in that spirit, and direct our efforts together to solving the problems that face our nations and the world, then we shall surely gain that victory. We will vindicate our deep and abiding faith in the strength of democracy to grow and develop with the times.

#

* We are determined to ^{seek} ~~reach~~ achieve balanced and mutual limits on qualitative and quantitative deployment of nuclear weapons. Then substantial reductions, leading to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons as a potential destructive force among the nations of the world.

We are determined to seek early agreement on a comprehensive ban of the testing of nuclear explosives, both military ^{weapons} and so-called peaceful nuclear devices.

We are determined to seek a substantial reduction in the international commerce of conventional arms. We will work with France and other nations to achieve the advantages which such agreements can bring.





**PROGRAMME OF THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF
THE HONOURABLE JIMMY CARTER THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA & MADAME CARTER
TO IRAN**

December 1977

Bank Melli Iran Press

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HUMAN BEINGS ARE LIKE PARTS
OF A BODY, CREATED FROM
THE SAME ESSENCE

WHEN ONE PART IS HURT
& IN PAIN, OTHERS CANNOT
REMAIN IN PEACE & QUIET

IF THE MISERY OF OTHERS
LEAVES YOU INDIFFERENT &
WITH NO FEELING OF SORROW,
THEN YOU CANNOT BE
CALLED A HUMAN BEING

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THIS VISIT - SO CLOSE - IMPORTANT
DEEP PERS FRIENDSHIPS
NEW YR EVE → GOOD '78
- 2500 - 200 / 500
IRAN - ISLAND of STABILITY
TURBULENT CORNER
LEADERSHIP = MIJE - HORN
PEACE, PROGRESS - WELL KNOWN
- MAKE AGREEMENT
ENERGY - MUTUAL SECURITY
- PEACE - BUSINESS - > STUDENTS
PERSIAN POET SAADI
KINDNESS → FRIENDS, ALL PEOPLE
HUM RTS
TALKS PRICELESS,
IRREPLACEABLE



**PROGRAMME OF THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE HONOUR-
ABLE JIMMY CARTER THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA & MADAME CARTER
TO IRAN**

Saturday December 31st, 1977

1 - Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and
The Shahbanou of Iran will arrive at the Mehrabad Airport.

16.20 hrs.

2 - The aircraft conveying The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of the United States of America and Madame Carter and the Members of Their Suite will land and will taxi to the apron.
(Annex No. 1)

16.35 hrs.

* * *

3 - The personalities who will have the honour to be present, will be at the Mehrabad Airport half an hour before the arrival of Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran.

Dress : Dark Suit

Ladies: Hat & Gloves

(Annex No. 2)

15.50 hrs.

* * *

4 - Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran will welcome The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of the United States of America and Madame Carter at the landing steps of the aircraft.

* * *

5 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States America will present to Their Imperial Majesties the Members of His Official Suite.

* * *

6- His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will present to The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of States of America and Madame Carter the following dignitaries who will be standing to the left of the landing steps of the aircraft:

* * *

- H. E. the Prime Minister and Mrs. Amouzegar.
- H. E. the President of the Senate and Mrs. Sharif-Emami.
- H. E. the Speaker of the House of Representatives and Mrs. Riazi.
- H. E. Mr. Amir Abbas Hoveyda, The Minister of the Imperial Court.
- H.E. Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador to the United States of America.
- H. E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mrs. Khalatbari.
- The Lady in Waiting to Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran.
- General Gholamreza Azhari, the Chief of The Supreme Commander's Staff.
- Lieutenant-General Mohsen Hashemi-Nejad, the Chief of the Imperial Household and General Military Aide to H.I.M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr.
- H. E. the Grand Master of Ceremonies of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr and Mrs. Afshar.
- H. E. Mr. Nosratollah Moinian, the Chief of the Private Secretariat of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr.

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- Lieutenant - General Abdol Ali Badrei, the Commander of the Imperial Guard, and
 - The Military Aide to the President of The United States of America.
- will take their positions behind the Review Stand.

10 - First the National Anthem of The United States of America and then the National Anthem of Iran will be played.

11 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will inspect the Guard of Honour. Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran and Madame Carter will remain at the Review Stand.

12 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will return to the Review Stand.

At this time His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America will make short statements.

13 - Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran will accompany The Honourable

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Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter as they are conducted by the Grand Master of Ceremonies of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr and the Chief of Protocol of the United States of America to the File of the Diplomatic Staff of the U. S. Embassy in Iran, and Ladies.

At this time H. E. the Prime Minister and Mrs. Amouzegar, H. E. the Minister of the Imperial Court, His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador to the United States of America, H.E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mrs. Khalatbari, the Lady in Waiting to H. I. M. The Shahbanou of Iran, H. E. the Ambassador of the United States of America and Mrs. Sullivan, the General Military Aide of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr and the Chief of the Private Secretariat of H. I. M. The Shahbanou of Iran and Mrs. Nahavandi will follow Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran and Mrs. Carter.

14 - Departure from the Mehrabad Airport to the White Palace of Saadabad by Royal Cars.

(Plan enclosed No. 2).

17.05 hrs.

15 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America will be seated on the right hand side and His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will be seated on the left hand side of the First Royal Car.

(The General Military Aide to H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr will be seated on the front seat).

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16 - Madame Carter will be seated on the right hand side and Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran will be seated on the left hand side of the Second Royal Car.

(The Commander of the Imperial Guard will be seated on the front seat).

* * *

17 - The Chief of the Protocol of the United States of America and His Excellency The Grand Master of Ceremonies of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr will ride in the car preceding the First Royal Car.

* * *

18 - The Suite of The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter will be conducted to their cars by the Masters of Ceremonies of The Imperial Court and the Civil Aides of H. I. M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr.

* * *

19 - The Motorcade of the Presidential Suite will be arranged according to the plan given by the Protocol of the Imperial Court. (Annex No. 3).

* * *

20 - Arrival at the White Palace of Saadabad.

17.35 hrs.

* * *

21 - At the entrance of the Hall of the White Palace of Saadabad, The Grand Master of Ceremonies of H. I. M. The

Shahanshah Aryamehr will present to The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter the Members of the Reception Committee.
(Annex No. 4).

* * *

22 - A few moments later Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran will depart from the White Palace of Saadabad.

* * *

23 - His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will discuss and exchange views with The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America.

17.40 hrs.

* * *

24 - His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will depart from the White Palace of Saadabad.

* * *

25 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter will leave for the Niyavaran Palace where a Banquet is given in Their Honour by Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran.

(The Presidential Car will be escorted by motorcars and motorcycles).

20.15 hrs.

* * *

26 - The personalities invited will have arrived and assembled at the Reception Room of the Niyavaran Palace.

Dress : Dark (Business)

Ladies : Long dress

Officers : Official Uniform.

20.00 hrs.

* * *

27 - The members of the Imperial Family will arrive at the Niyavaran Palace.

20.15 hrs.

* * *

28 - Arrival of The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter at the Niyavaran Palace.

Before proceeding to the Reception Room, Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran will welcome The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter at the entrance of the Hall of the Niyavaran Palace.

20.30 hrs.

* * *

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29 - His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will present the Members of the Imperial Family to The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter at the Reception Room.

* * *

30 - The guests will pay their respects and proceed to the Banquet Room and they will stand in their places awaiting the arrival of Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran and Their Distinguished Guests.

The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter and Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahnbanou of Iran will enter the Banquet Room and be seated. The other guests will then be seated.

* * *

31 - Immediately after the Banquet His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr will deliver a speech followed by the reply of The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America.

(The Symphony Orchestra of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts will perform during the Banquet).

After dinner there will be a performance by the troupe of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts.

* * *

32 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The

**PROGRAMME OF MADAME ROSALYNN CARTER
THE FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

Saturday December 31st, 1977

1 - Madame Rosalynn Carter will leave for the Reza Abbassi Arts and Cultural Centre (by car).

(The First Lady's Car Will be escorted by motorcars and motorcycles).

17.55 hrs.

2 - Arrival at Reza Abbassi Arts and Cultural Centre.

18.10 hrs.

3 - Termination of visit and return to the White Palace of Saadabad.

18.55 hrs.

4 - Arrival at the White Palace of Saadabad.

19.10 hrs.

Sunday January 1st, 1978

1 - Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran will arrive at the White Palace of Saadabad.

08.45 hrs.

* * *

2 - Their Imperial Majesties The Shahanshah Aryamehr and The Shahbanou of Iran will accompany The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter from the White Palace of Saadabad to the Mehrabad Airport.

(The Royal Cars will be escorted by motorcars and motorcycles).

8.50 hrs.

* * *

3 - Arrival at the Mehrabad Airport.

09.15 hrs.

* * *

4 - Departure ceremonies will be identical to the arrival ceremonies.

(Plan enclosed No. 3)

* * *

5 - The Presidential Suite will have boarded the plane in advance.

* * *

6 - The Honourable Jimmy Carter The President of The United States of America and Madame Carter will board the Presidential Aircraft.

* * *

7 - The Presidential Aircraft will take off from the Mehrabad Airport.

09.30 hrs.

* * *

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ANNEX No. 1

- 1 - The Honourable Cyrus Vance,
Secretary of State.
- 2 - Mme. Vance.
- 3 - The Honourable William H. Sullivan,
Ambassador of the United States of America.
- 4 - Mme. Sullivan.
- 5 - The Honourable Zbigniew Brzezinski,
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.
- 6 - The Honourable Jody Powell,
Press Secretary to the President.
- 7 - The Honourable Evan S. Dobelle,
Chief of Protocol of the United States of America.
- 8 - Mme. Dobelle.
- 9 - The Honourable Tim Kraft,
Special Assistant to the President.
- 10 - The Honourable Anthony Lake,
Director Policy Planning Staff.
- 11 - The Honourable Gary Sic,
NSC Area Director.
- 12 - The Honourable Sidney Sober,
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- 13 - Mme. Mary Hoyt,
Press Secretary to the First Lady.

ANNEX No. 2

- 1 - H.E. The Prime Minister and Mrs. Amouzegar.
- 2 - H. E. The President of the Senate and Mrs. Sharif - Emami.
- 3 - H.E. The Speaker of the House of Representatives and Mrs. Riazi.
- 4 - H.E. Mr. Amir Abbas Hoveyda, The Minister of the Imperial Court.
- 5 - H.E. Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi, His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador to the United States of America.
- 6 - H. E. The Minister of Foreign Affaires and Mrs. Khatlari.
- 7 - The Lady in Waiting to Her Imperial Majesty The Shahbanou of Iran.
- 8 - General Gholamreza Azhari, the Chief of The Supreme Commander's Staff.
- 9 - Lieutenant-General Mohsen Hashemi-Nejad, the Chief of the Imperial Household and General Military Aide to H.I.M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr.
- 10 - H.E. the Grand Master of Ceremonies of H.I.M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr and Mrs. Afshar.
- 11 - H.E. Mr. Nosratollah Mojtahedi, the Chief of the Private Secretariat of H.I.M. The Shahanshah Aryamehr.

- 12 - The Chief of the Private Secretariat of H.I.M. The Shahbanou of Iran and Mrs. Nahavandi.
- 13 - Lieutenant General Abdol Ali Badrei, the Commander of the Imperial Guard.

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ANNEX No. 3

Royal Car

The President of the United
States of America

His Imperial Majesty The
Shahanshah Aryamehr

(Chief of the Imperial Military Household and General
Military Aide to His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah
Aryamehr)

Royal Car

Madame Rosalynn Carter

Her Imperial Majesty
The Shahbanou of Iran

Car No. A

His Excellency Jamshid
Amouzegar, Prime Minister

Mme. Amouzegar

Car No. B

His Excellency Mr. Amir Abbas Hoveyda
Minister of The Imperial Court

Car No. 1

His Excellency Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari Minister of Foreign Affairs	The Honourable Cyrus Vance Secretary of State
---	---

Car No. 2

Mme. Manzar Khalatbari	The Honourable William H. Sullivan, Ambassador of the United States of America
------------------------	--

Car No. 3

General Gholamreza Azhari Chief of The Supreme Commander's Staff	The Honourable Zbigniew Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
--	---

Car No. 4

The Honourable Tim Kraft Special Assistant to the President	Lt. CDR. Reason White House Photographer (1)
---	---

Car No. 5

The Honourable Jody Powell Press Secretary to the President	The Honourable Anthony Lake, Director Policy Planning Staff
--	---

ANNEX No. 4

Reception Committee

- 1 - H. E. Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi,
His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador to the United
States of America.
- 2 - H. E. Mme. Mahnaz Afkhami,
Minister of State
- 3 - H. E. Mr. Abolfath Atabay,
Vice-Minister of the Imperial Court.
- 4 - H. E. Mr. Hedayatollah Zolfaghari,
Vice-Grand Master of Ceremonies of H. I. M. The
Shahanshah Aryamehr.
- 5 - Major-General Manouchehr Khosrodad,
The Military Aide to The President of The United States
of America.

Car No. 6

The Honourable Gary Sic
NSC. Area Director

The Honourable Sidney
Sober, Deputy Assistant-
Secretary, Department of
State

Mme. Mary Hoyt,
Press Secretary to the First Lady.

Car No. 7

Mme. Clough

White House Photographer(1)

Car No. 8

Mme. Mac Bean

The Honourable Kenneth.
Hays

Support (1)

Car No. 9

Mme. Vance

The Honourable Jack Miklos
and Mme. Micklos

Car No. 10

Mme. Dobelle

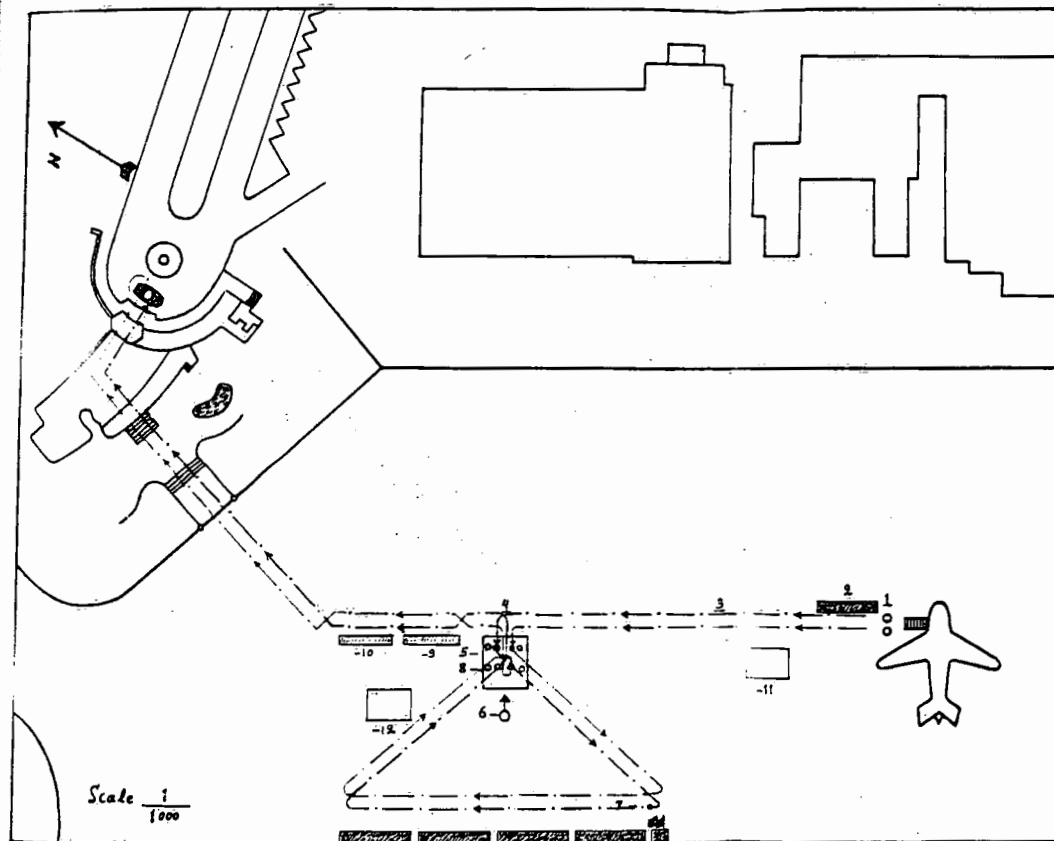
The Honourable David.
Anderson

The Honourable Rick Inderforth

Car No. 11

TELEPHONE NUMBERS

H. E. Mr. Amir Aslan Afshar Grand Master of Ceremonies of His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah Aryamehr	282044
The Protocol of The Imperial Court	283073 - 5
H. E. Mr. Abolhassan Bakhtiar Chief of Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	313003 321334
Residence of the U. S. Ambassador to the Imperial Court.	820091 - 9
The U. S. Embassy	820091 - 9
The White Palace of Saadabad	282031 - 39
Royal Tehran Hilton Hotel	290021 - 5 290011 - 15 290031 - 35



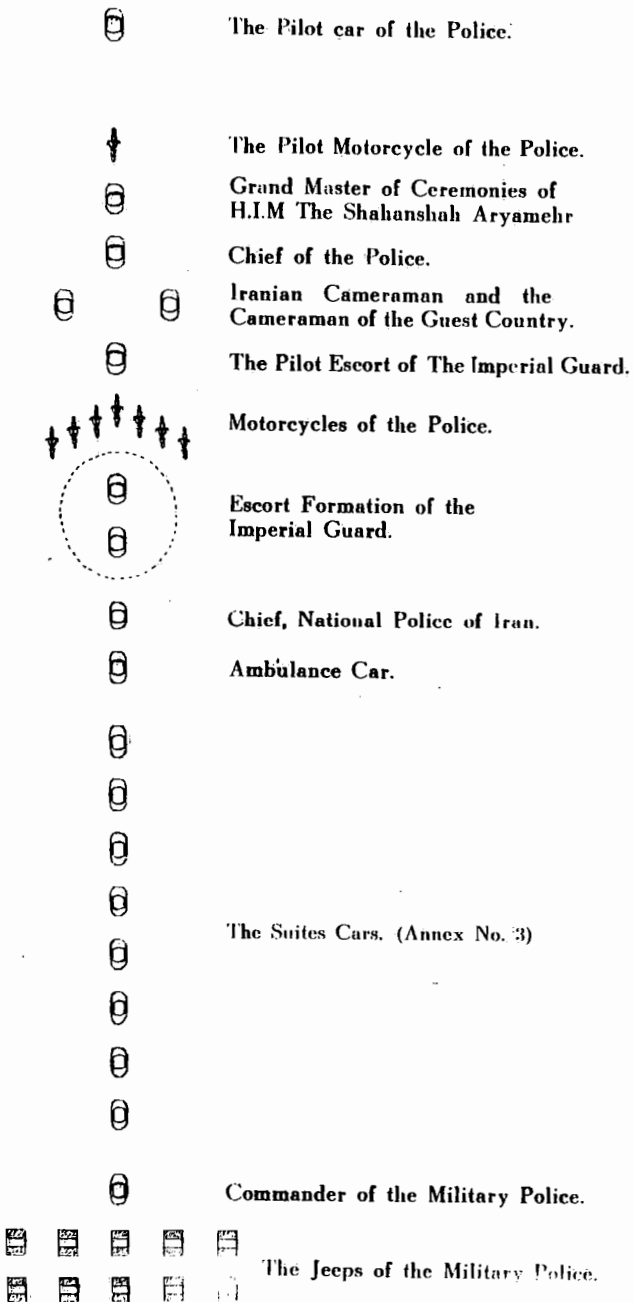
KEY TO SKETCH

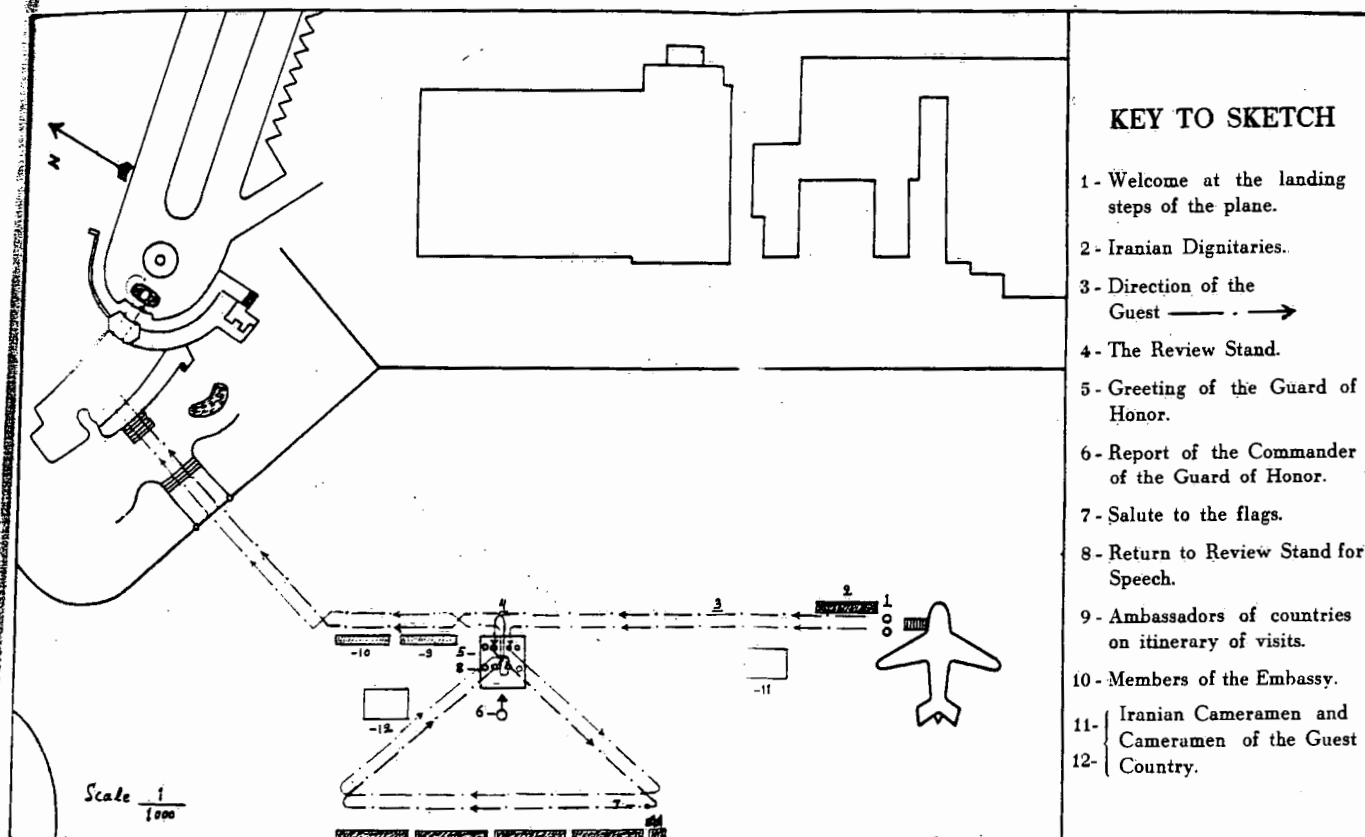
- 1- Welcome at the landing steps of the plane.
- 2- Iranian Dignitaries.
- 3- Direction of the Guest ———→
- 4- The Review Stand.
- 5- Greeting of the Guard of Honor.
- 6- Report of the Commander of the Guard of Honor.
- 7- Salute to the flags.
- 8- Return to Review Stand for Speech.
- 9- Ambassadors of countries on itinerary of visits.
- 10- Members of the Embassy.
- 11- Iranian Cameramen and
- 12- Cameramen of the Guest Country.

Plan Enclosed - I

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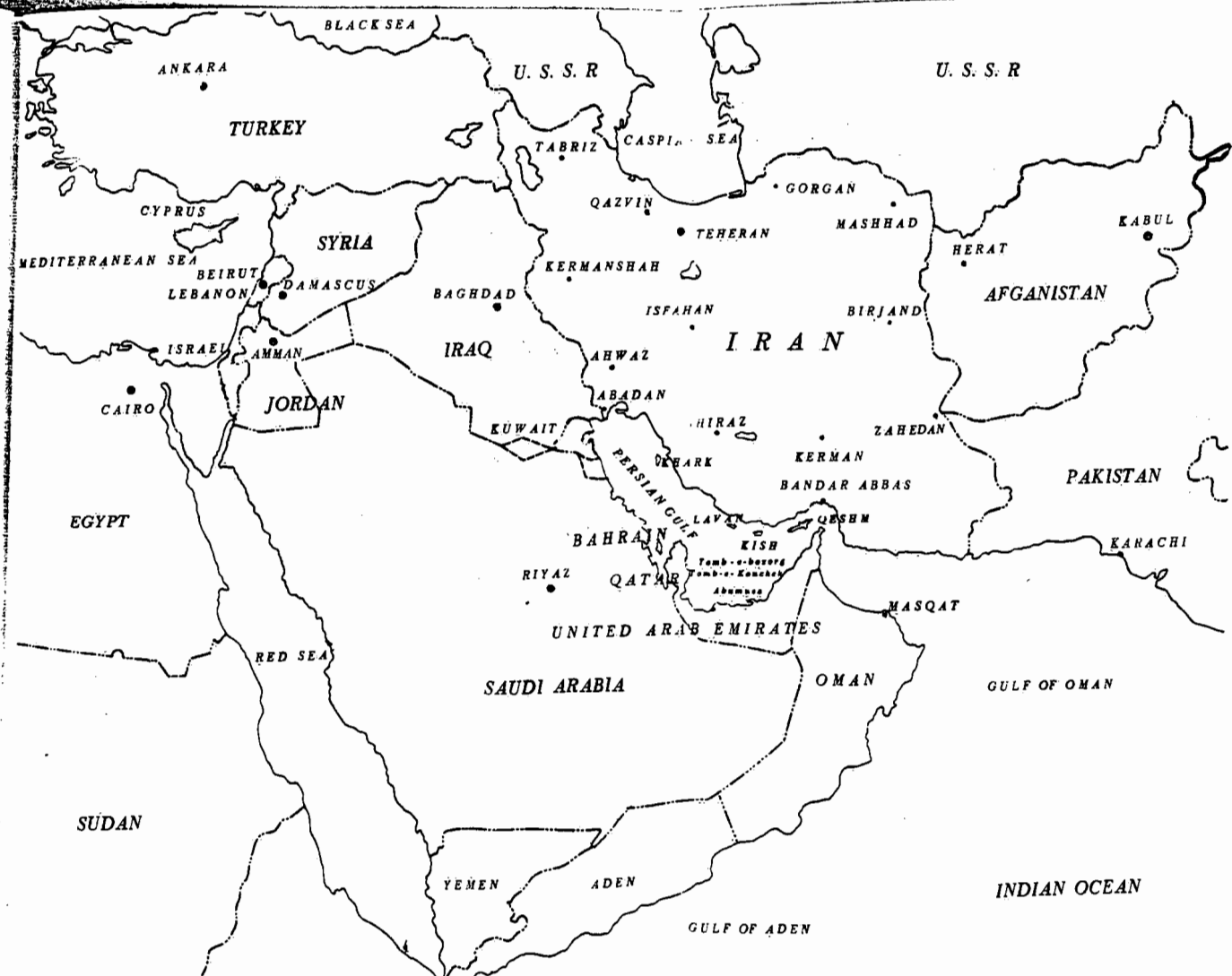
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Plan Enclosed - 1

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PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
JANUARY 6, 1978

MR. PRESIDENT, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION:

I AM GLAD TO MEET WITH YOU TODAY, AND TO
CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS THAT BEGAN WHEN MY ADMINISTRATION
WAS ONLY A FEW HOURS OLD.

BEFORE MY FIRST WEEK IN OFFICE WAS OVER,
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE BEGAN HIS VISIT TO OUR TRADITIONAL
ALLIES, STOPPING FIRST OF ALL IN BRUSSELS, HOME OF THOSE
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT REPRESENT OUR SHARED HOPE
FOR A SECURE AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE.

AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE
HEADQUARTERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, I BELIEVE THIS
MEETING SYMBOLIZES AMERICA'S ABIDING COMMITMENT TO A STRONG
AND UNITED EUROPE, AND TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

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IT HAS BEEN MY PLEASURE . . .

IT HAS BEEN MY PLEASURE TO MEET OFTEN WITH THE COMMUNITY'S LEADERS. IN ADDITION TO MEETING PRESIDENT JENKINS BOTH AT THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT AND IN WASHINGTON, I BENEFITTED FROM MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTERS CALLAGHAN AND TINDEMANS DURING THEIR COUNTRIES' TERM IN THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL.

AS I HAVE TRAVELLED IN THESE LAST NINE DAYS, CROSSING CONTINENTS AND CULTURES, DISCUSSING DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, SEEING HUMANITY IN ITS FULL DIVERSE ARRAY, I HAVE REAFFIRMED CERTAIN CONSTANT THEMES TIME AFTER TIME.

I HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL VALUES, AND THE STEPS NEEDED TO DEFEND THEM; THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES WE FACE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AND THE NEED TO COPE WITH PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN.

WE MUST ALSO OPEN OUR HEARTS TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES
FOR PEACE, WHILE ALWAYS MAINTAINING THE STRONG RIGHT
ARM OF OUR DEFENSE.

I HAVE REPEATED THESE THEMES BECAUSE THEY NEED
REPETITION, BECAUSE THEY EXPRESS TO THE WORLD THE VALUES
MY NATION MOST DEEPLY HOLDS.

I AM PROUD TODAY TO ADD ANOTHER -- THAT THE
UNITED STATES WELCOMES A STRONG, UNITED EUROPE AS A
COMMON FORCE FOR THE VALUES OUR PEOPLES SHARE.

THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART TO WORK WITH
YOU.

OUR ECONOMY IS PROSPEROUS AND GROWING, CONTINUING
ITS STEADY RECOVERY.

BECAUSE WE HAVE CONFIDENCE . . .

BECAUSE WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL
STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMY, WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE
FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR, NOW AND FOR THE FUTURE.

BUT WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH OUR
OWN PROSPERITY DEPENDS MORE THAN EVER ON INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE COMMUNITY IN
A WIDE VARIETY OF WAYS, IN ORDER:

-- TO PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF NATIONS
SO AS TO CONTROL INFLATION, REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT, AND
ACHIEVE MONETARY STABILITY;

-- TO REACH A RAPID AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO
THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THUS TO EXPAND
INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CREATE MORE JOBS IN ALL COUNTRIES,
AND HELP US ALL RESIST PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES;

-- TO WORK CREATIVELY TOWARD MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING NATIONS;

-- TO COOPERATE IN PROVIDING A ROLE FOR NUCLEAR
TECHNOLOGY IN MEETING OUR ENERGY NEEDS, WITHOUT HAZARDING
OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE THROUGH THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION; AND

-- TO FIND ANSWERS TOGETHER TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS FACING EACH OF OUR SOCIETIES.

AS I SAID IN PARIS TWO DAYS AGO, WE MUST USE THE
TOOLS OF SHARED FREEDOM TO INCREASE THE CHOICES AND
OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

WE CAN SHARE OUR EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT --
IN EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SERVICES, THE ORGANIZATION
AND MANAGEMENT OF FACTORY AND FARM.

AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST . . .

AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST TRADING UNIT, THE
COMMUNITY SHARES WITH US A CLEAR INTEREST IN A SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION TO THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.

THEY ARE PROGRESSING WELL, THOUGH MUCH REMAINS
TO BE DONE.

I WELCOME THE SUCCESS OF THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS
IN REACHING THE GOAL SET LAST MAY IN LONDON: SUBSTANTIAL
PROGRESS BY THE END OF 1977.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ALREADY SHOULD ENABLE THE
NEGOTIATIONS TO END THIS YEAR.

SPEED IS IMPORTANT, IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO
IMPROVE THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM AND REMOVE PRESSURE
FOR PROTECTIONISM.

WE NEED A BROAD PACKAGE OF AGREEMENTS, WITH MAJOR
REDUCTIONS IN TARIFFS AND NON-TARIFF BARRIERS, AND WITH
PROVISIONS FOR AGRICULTURE.

WE KNOW THAT EACH COUNTRY WILL FACE PROBLEMS OF
TRANSITION TO A FREER TRADING SYSTEM.

BUT THOSE ARE A SMALL PRICE TO PAY FOR THE BENEFITS
OF MORE OPEN TRADE; AND THEY ARE SMALL, TOO, IN COMPARISON
TO THE DANGER OF PROTECTIONISM IF WE FAIL TO REACH A
COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT.

OUR NATIONS ALSO SHARE CONCERN FOR DEVELOPING
COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAMS.

TWO MONTHS AGO, I POSTPONED MY VISIT HERE TO
BRUSSELS IN ORDER TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENACT AN
E NERGY PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES.

MY COUNTRY MUST WASTE LESS ENERGY AND DEVELOP
ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF SUPPLY; AS SOON AS I RETURN, I
WILL RESUME WORK ON THIS CRUCIAL LEGISLATION.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SOON
BE SETTING AN EXAMPLE FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY POLICY.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE . . .

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES ALSO
SHARE A DEEP INTEREST IN PROMOTING RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES, AND OUR COOPERATION HAS LED TO CONSTRUCTIVE
RESULTS.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO DRAW THESE
COUNTRIES MORE FULLY INTO THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

THEY TOO MUST BE ABLE TO SHARE MORE EQUITABLY IN THE
BENEFITS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS,
AND TO PLAY AN APPROPRIATE ROLE IN MAKING GLOBAL ECONOMIC
DECISIONS.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES ALSO WELCOME THE GROWING POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY BEYOND WESTERN EUROPE.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTES VITALLY TO
REACHING GOALS WE SHARE.

MOST RECENTLY, I HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY THE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN US -- AND BY THE FIRM LEADERSHIP SHOWN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY -- AT THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

FINALLY, IN STRESSING OUR COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN UNITY, I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING A CLOSE AND PRODUCTIVE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THE YEARS AHEAD. AND I CAN THINK OF NO MORE FITTING TRIBUTE TO WHAT YOU ARE DOING THAN TO CITE THE WORDS OF JEAN MONNET, THE FATHER OF EUROPEAN UNITY: "YOU ARE NOT MAKING A COALITION OF STATES; YOU ARE UNITING PEOPLES."

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#

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37
PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
PARLIAMENT HOUSE
NEW DELHI, INDIA
JANUARY 2, 1978

VP
PM
MR SPEAKER

~~PM DESAI~~, DISTINGUISHED LEADERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA:

I STAND BEFORE YOU IN THIS HOUSE, THE SEAT OF ONE
OF THE WORLD'S GREAT LEGISLATURE, WITH FEELINGS OF PROFOUND
FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT.

I BRING WITH ME THE WARM GREETINGS AND GOOD WISHES OF
THE PEOPLE OF THE SECOND LARGEST DEMOCRACY ON EARTH, THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE LARGEST
DEMOCRACY, THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA.

NOT LONG AGO, BOTH OF OUR PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS
PASSED THROUGH GRAVE CRISES. IN DIFFERENT WAYS, THE VALUES
FOR WHICH SO MANY HAVE LIVED AND DIED WERE THREATENED.

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IN DIFFERENT WAYS, . . .

IN DIFFERENT WAYS, AND ON OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE WORLD,
THOSE VALUES HAVE ^{now} BEEN TRIUMPHANT.

IT IS SOMETIMES ARGUED THAT THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL
STATE -- WITH ITS MATERIALISM, ITS CENTRALIZED BUREAUCRACIES,
AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL AVAILABLE TO
THOSE WHO HOLD POWER -- MUST INEVITABLY LOSE SIGHT OF THE
DEMOCRATIC IDEAL.

THE RECENT EXPERIENCE OF MY ^{own} COUNTRY PUT THAT
ARGUMENT TO THE TEST. AND THE RESULT WAS A VINDICATION
OF FREEDOM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE OPPOSITE ARGUMENT IS MADE EVEN MORE FREQUENTLY.
THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS A KIND OF RICH
MAN'S PLAYTHING -- AND THAT THE POOR ARE TOO PREOCCUPIED
WITH SURVIVAL TO CARE ABOUT THE LUXURY OF FREEDOM AND THE
RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THIS ARGUMENT IS REPEATED ALL OVER THE WORLD --
MOSTLY, I HAVE NOTICED, BY PERSONS WHOSE OWN BELLIES ARE
FULL, AND WHO SPEAK FROM POSITIONS OF PRIVILEGE AND POWER
IN THEIR OWN SOCIETIES.

THEIR ARGUMENT REMINDS ME OF A STATEMENT MADE BY
A GREAT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: ~~HE~~ ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
HE SAID, "WHENEVER I HEAR ANYONE ARGUING FOR SLAVERY, I FEEL
A STRONG IMPULSE TO SEE IT TRIED ON HIM PERSONALLY."

THE EVIDENCE, BOTH IN INDIA AND IN AMERICA, IS PLAIN.
IT IS THAT THERE IS MORE THAN ONE FORM OF HUNGER, AND
NEITHER THE RICH OR POOR WILL FEEL SATISFIED WITHOUT BEING
FED IN BOTH BODY AND IN SPIRIT.

IS DEMOCRACY IMPORTANT? IS HUMAN FREEDOM VALUED BY
ALL PEOPLE?

INDIA HAS GIVEN HER . . .

INDIA HAS GIVEN HER AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER IN A THUNDEROUS
VOICE -- A VOICE HEARD AROUND THE WORLD. SOMETHING
MOMENTOUS HAPPENED HERE LAST MARCH -- NOT BECAUSE ANY
PARTICULAR PARTY WON OR LOST, BUT RATHER, I THINK, BECAUSE
THE LARGEST ELECTORATE ON EARTH FREELY AND WISELY CHOSE
ITS LEADERS AT THE POLLS. IN THIS SENSE, DEMOCRACY ITSELF
WAS THE VICTOR.

TOGETHER, WE UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE REALM OF POLITICS,
FREEDOM IS THE ENGINE OF PROGRESS.

INDIA AND AMERICA SHARE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH
DEMOCRACY.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE PROUD OF HAVING ACHIEVED
POLITICAL UNION AMONG A PEOPLE WHOSE ANCESTORS COME FROM ALL
OVER THE WORLD. OUR SYSTEM STRIVES TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS
OF A GREAT VARIETY OF MINORITIES -- INCLUDING, BY THE WAY,
A GROWING AND PRODUCTIVE GROUP OF FAMILIES FROM INDIA.

BUT THE CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL UNION IS EVEN GREATER
IN YOUR COUNTRY.
HERE, IN THE DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS, POLITICAL
OPINIONS, AND RACIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS, INDIA IS COMPARABLE
TO THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE, WHICH HAS A ^{TOTAL} POPULATION ABOUT
THE SAME SIZE AS INDIA'S.

YET INDIA HAS FORGED HER VAST MOSAIC OF HUMANITY
INTO A SINGLE NATION THAT HAS WEATHERED MANY CHALLENGES TO
SURVIVAL BOTH AS A NATION AND AS A DEMOCRACY. THIS IS
SURELY ONE OF THE GREATEST POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS
OR ANY CENTURY.

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE AT ONE IN RECOGNIZING
THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH -- WHICH MAHATMA GANDHI CALLED
SWAR-AHSE
"THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF SWARAJ" OR SELF-GOVERNMENT --
AND THE RIGHTS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM, TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION,
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

ALL THESE RIGHTS ARE RECOGNIZED...

ALL THESE RIGHTS ARE RECOGNIZED IN INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS. THERE ARE FEW GOVERNMENTS WHICH DO NOT AT LEAST PAY LIP SERVICE TO THEM. AND YET, TO QUOTE GANDHI ONCE MORE, "NO PRINCIPLE EXISTS IN THE ABSTRACT. WITHOUT ITS CONCRETE APPLICATION IT HAS NO MEANING."

IN INDIA, AS IN THE UNITED STATES, THESE RIGHTS HAVE CONCRETE APPLICATION -- AND REAL MEANING.

IT IS TO PRESERVE THESE RIGHTS THAT BOTH OUR NATIONS HAVE CHOSEN SIMILAR POLITICAL PATHS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RESOURCES AND THE BETTERMENT OF THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE.

THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US IN THE DEGREE TO WHICH ECONOMIC GROWTH IS PURSUED THROUGH PUBLIC ENTERPRISE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, ON THE OTHER -- BUT MORE IMPORTANT THAN THESE DIFFERENCES IS OUR SHARED BELIEF THAT THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN WHICH DEVELOPMENT TAKES PLACE SHOULD BE DEMOCRATIC AND SHOULD RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF EACH AND EVERY CITIZEN.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES ALSO AGREE THAT HUMAN NEEDS ARE
INSEPARABLE FROM HUMAN RIGHTS -- THAT WHILE CIVIL AND
POLITICAL LIBERTIES ARE GOOD IN THEMSELVES, THEY ARE MUCH
MORE USEFUL AND MUCH MORE MEANINGFUL IN THE LIVES OF PEOPLE
TO WHOM PHYSICAL SURVIVAL IS NOT A MATTER OF DAILY ANXIETY.

TO HAVE SUFFICIENT FOOD; TO LIVE AND WORK; TO BE
ADEQUATELY SHELTERED AND CLOTHED; TO LIVE IN A HEALTHY
ENVIRONMENT AND BE HEALED WHEN SICK; TO LEARN AND BE
TAUGHT -- THESE RIGHTS, TOO, MUST BE THE CONCERNS OF OUR
GOVERNMENTS. TO MEET THESE NEEDS, ORDERLY ECONOMIC GROWTH
IS CRUCIAL. AND IF THE BENEFITS OF GROWTH ARE TO REACH
THOSE WHOSE NEED IS GREATEST, SOCIAL JUSTICE IS CRUCIAL
AS WELL.

INDIA IS SUCCESSING IN THIS HISTORIC TASK. YOUR
ECONOMIC CHALLENGES ARE NO SECRET, AND THEIR SERIOUSNESS
IS WELL UNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST.

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WHAT IS FAR LESS WELL

UNDERSTOOD . . .

WHAT IS FAR LESS WELL UNDERSTOOD IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH INDIAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BEEN A SUCCESS. IN THE SINGLE GENERATION SINCE YOUR INDEPENDENCE WAS GAINED, EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.

INDIA IS NOW A MAJOR INDUSTRIAL POWER. YOUR ECONOMY RANKS AMONG THE TEN LARGEST IN THE WORLD. IT IS VIRTUALLY SELF-SUFFICIENT IN CONSUMER GOODS AND A WIDE VARIETY OF IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTS.

THERE HAVE BEEN NOTABLE INCREASES IN PRODUCTION - IN NEARLY EVERY IMPORTANT SECTOR OF INDUSTRY -- INCREASES WHICH REFLECT AN ECONOMY OF GREAT TECHNOLOGICAL SOPHISTICATION. THIS KIND OF GROWTH MAKES IT DOUBLY IMPORTANT TO TRY TO REDUCE TRADE BARRIERS, AND TO PROMOTE BOTH BILATERAL TRADE AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM.

MOST IMPORTANT, THOUGH, ARE THE ADVANCES IN HUMAN
WELFARE THAT HAVE TOUCHED THE LIVES OF ORDINARY INDIANS.

LIFE EXPECTANCY HAS INCREASED BY TWENTY YEARS SINCE
INDEPENDENCE. THE THREAT OF MAJOR EPIDEMICS HAS RECEDED.
THE LITERACY RATE HAS DOUBLED. WHILE ONLY A THIRD OF
INDIAN CHILDREN WENT TO SCHOOL IN THE YEARS JUST AFTER
INDEPENDENCE, NEARLY 90 PERCENT OF PRIMARY-AGE INDIAN
CHILDREN NOW RECEIVE SCHOOLING. NINE TIMES AS MANY STUDENTS
GO TO UNIVERSITIES AS BEFORE.

I MENTION THESE GAINS BECAUSE WE TEND TO OVERLOOK
THEM IN OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT QUITE
PROPERLY ENGAGE MOST OF OUR ATTENTION.

INDIA'S DIFFICULTIES, WHICH WE OFTEN EXPERIENCE
OURSELVES, AND WHICH ARE TYPICAL OF THE PROBLEMS FACED IN
THE DEVELOPING WORLD, REMIND US OF THE TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD.

BUT INDIA'S SUCCESSES ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT --
BECAUSE THEY DECISIVELY REFUTE THE THEORY THAT IN ORDER
TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, A DEVELOPING
COUNTRY MUST ACCEPT AN AUTHORITARIAN OR TOTALITARIAN
GOVERNMENT AND ALL THE DAMAGE TO THE HEALTH OF THE HUMAN
SPIRIT WHICH ^{COMES} ~~[THAT KIND OF RULE BRINGS]~~ WITH IT.

NEVERTHELESS -- AS INDIANS ARE THE FIRST TO AFFIRM --
THE CHALLENGES YOUR COUNTRY FACES REMAIN IMMENSE. ALL OF
US RECOGNIZE THAT EVERY COUNTRY STANDS OR FALLS BY ITS
OWN EFFORTS.

* * *

WE ARE EAGER TO JOIN WITH YOU IN MAINTAINING AND
IMPROVING OUR VALUABLE AND MATURE PARTNERSHIP OF POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

IT IS A SOBERING FACT THAT IN A NATION OF SO MANY
HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE, ONLY A FEW AMERICAN BUSINESS
LEADERS ARE INVOLVED ON A DAILY BASIS IN THE ECONOMIC AND
COMMERCIAL LIFE OF THIS SUBCONTINENT.

WE NEED TO IDENTIFY MORE AREAS WHERE WE CAN WORK
TOGETHER FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND, INDEED, THE BENEFIT OF
THE WHOLE WORLD.

IN THE AREA OF DEVELOPMENT, I AM DEEPLY IMPRESSED
WITH THE CREATIVE DIRECTION THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAS
CHARTED IN THE NEW ECONOMIC STATEMENT.

YOU HAVE COMMITTED YOUR NATION UNEQUIVOCALLY TO
RURAL IMPROVEMENT AND THE CREATION OF RURAL EMPLOYMENT.

THIS POLICY NOW FACES THE TEST OF IMPLEMENTATION, AND
ESPECIALLY THE TEST OF BRINGING ITS BENEFITS TO THE
POOREST SECTIONS OF YOUR RURAL POPULATION. ~~THE~~ THE
SERIOUSNESS AND DETERMINATION OF YOUR COMMITMENT IS
CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

THE NEW DIRECTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT COINCIDES WITH
OUR OWN VIEW THAT DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES SHOULD EMPHASIZE
MEETING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS.

WE WANT TO LEARN FROM YOU AND TO WORK WITH YOU
HOWEVER WE CAN.

IN AGRICULTURE THERE ARE ALSO EXCITING NEW AREAS
OF TECHNOLOGY ON WHICH WE CAN WORK TOGETHER. AFTER A
DECADE OF IMPORTING GRAIN, INDIA NOW STANDS WITH A SURPLUS
OF NEARLY 20 MILLION TONS. THIS IS A TRIBUTE TO THE
GROWING PRODUCTIVITY OF YOUR AGRICULTURE AND THE
COMPETENCE OF YOUR ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES.

WE APPLAUD THE GRAIN RESERVE PROGRAM YOU HAVE
BEGUN AND WE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE WITH
YOU OUR RESOURCES AND EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE STORAGE
PROBLEMS THAT SURPLUSES BRING WITH THEM.

OUR COUNTRIES MUST BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE EFFORT
TO BRING INTO EXISTENCE THE INTERNATIONAL FOOD RESERVE THAT
WOULD MITIGATE THE FEAR OF FAMINE IN THE REST OF THE WORLD.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT TODAY'S
SURPLUSES ARE LIKELY TO BE A TEMPORARY PHENOMENON.
THE BEST ESTIMATES INDICATE THAT UNLESS NEW PRODUCTIVE
CAPACITY IS DEVELOPED, THE WHOLE WORLD WITH ITS RAPIDLY
GROWING POPULATION MAY BE FACING LARGE FOOD SHORTAGES BY
THE MID-1980s.

THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL
PRODUCTIVITY EXIST HERE IN INDIA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE
DEVELOPING WORLD. THESE OPPORTUNITIES MUST BE SEIZED --
NOT JUST SO THAT INDIANS CAN EAT BETTER, BUT SO THAT
INDIA CAN REMAIN SELF-SUFFICIENT, AND PERHAPS EVEN EXPORT
FOOD TO COUNTRIES WITH LESS AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL.

IN THE PAST, AMERICA AND INDIA HAVE SCORED
MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN WORKING TOGETHER IN THE
AGRICULTURAL FIELD.

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BUT THERE IS STILL A VAST . . .

BUT THERE IS STILL A VAST UNREALIZED POTENTIAL
TO BE TAPPED. ~~[THROUGH FURTHER COOPERATION.]~~

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN INTENSIFIED AGRICULTURAL
RESEARCH PROGRAM, AIMED BOTH AT IMPROVING PRODUCTIVITY
IN INDIA AND AT DEVELOPING PROCESSES THAT COULD BE USED
ELSEWHERE.

THIS PROGRAM WOULD BE BASED IN THE AGRICULTURAL
UNIVERSITIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BUT WOULD EXTEND ACROSS
THE WHOLE FRONTIER OF RESEARCH.

AND BEYOND RESEARCH, I WOULD LIKE TO IDENTIFY JOINT
DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHERE RESEARCH CAN BE TESTED AND
PUT TO WORK.

PERHAPS
^ PRIME MINISTER DESAI AND I MAY NOW INSTRUCT OUR
GOVERNMENTS TO FOCUS ON THESE MATTERS AND COME UP WITH
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

ONE OF THE MOST PROMISING AREAS FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS IN THE REGIONS OF EASTERN INDIA AND BANGLADESH, WHERE ALTERNATING PERIODS OF DROUGHT AND FLOOD CUT CRUELLY INTO FOOD PRODUCTION. SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE LIVE IN THIS AREA. THEY HAPPEN TO BE CITIZENS OF INDIA, BANGLADESH, AND NEPAL.

BUT THEY ARE ALSO CITIZENS OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY HAS A STAKE IN ENSURING THAT THEIR NEEDS ARE MET.

GREAT PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE IN RESOLVING WATER QUESTIONS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE OUR SUPPORT WHEN THE REGIONAL STATES REQUEST A STUDY THAT WILL DEFINE HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA, CAN HELP THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION USE WATER FROM THE RIVERS AND THE MOUNTAINS TO ACHIEVE THE PRODUCTIVITY THAT IS INHERENT IN THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

* * *
SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH REQUIRES A STRONG BASE
IN ENERGY AS WELL AS IN AGRICULTURE. ENERGY IS A SERIOUS
PROBLEM IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES, FOR BOTH OF US IMPORT OIL
AT LEVELS THAT CAN THREATEN OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH AND EXPOSE
US TO DANGER IF SUPPLIES ARE INTERRUPTED.

AMERICAN FIRMS ARE ALREADY WORKING WITH INDIANS IN
DEVELOPING THE OIL PRODUCING AREA OFF THE SHORES NEAR BOMBAY.

WE ALSO HAVE A LONG RECORD OF COOPERATION IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR POWER -- ANOTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENT
OF INDIA'S ENERGY PLANS. ~~[I HOPE THAT]~~ OUR WORK TOGETHER
WILL CONTINUE IN THIS FIELD AS WELL.

TARAPUR
HEAVY H₂O

ADDITIONALLY, WE STAND READY TO WORK WITH YOU IN
DEVELOPING RENEWABLE ENERGY RESOURCES, ESPECIALLY SOLAR
ENERGY. ~~[ACTIVE COOPERATION IN THIS AREA COULD BE OF
ENORMOUS HELP TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.]~~

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF SUNLIGHT IN INDIA, AND THE
LACK OF A MASSIVE EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE TIED TO FOSSIL
FUEL USE WILL MAKE THE APPLICATION OF SOLAR AND SOLAR-RELATED
ENERGY VASTLY EASIER HERE THAN IT WILL BE IN MY COUNTRY.

MOREOVER, THE INHERENTLY DECENTRALIZED NATURE OF
SOLAR ENERGY MAKES IT IDEAL AS A COMPLEMENT TO YOUR
GOVERNMENT'S STRESS ON DEVELOPING SELF-RELIANT VILLAGES
AND COMMUNITIES.

WITH ADEQUATE ENERGY AND ENGINEERING APPLIED TO THE
USE OF EXISTING LAND RESOURCES, POTENTIAL GAINS IN
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY WILL ALSO BE GREATLY ENHANCED.

* * *

THE SILENT VOID OF SPACE MAY SEEM REMOTE FROM THESE
CHALLENGES, BUT THE INTRICATE ELECTRONICS OF A SPACE
SATELLITE CAN BE AS USEFUL TO EARTH-BOUND FARMERS AS A
NEW PLOW.

THE INDIAN AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WILL TOMORROW
EXCHANGE DIPLOMATIC NOTES CONFIRMING THAT THE UNITED STATES
WILL PROGRAM ITS LANDSAT EARTH RESOURCES SATELLITE TO
TRANSMIT DATA DIRECTLY TO A GROUND RECEIVING STATION
THAT INDIA WILL OWN AND OPERATE.

THIS SATELLITE SERVICE WILL PROVIDE INDIA WITH
COMPREHENSIVE TOPOGRAPHIC AND MINERALS INFORMATION AND
TIMELY DATA ON THE EVER-CHANGING CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL,
WATER, AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES.

UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT, INDIA WILL MAKE
AVAILABLE TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES ANY INFORMATION THAT
AFFECTS THEM.

ALSO, INDIA HAS ALREADY RESERVED SPACE ON BOARD THE
AMERICAN SPACE SHUTTLE IN 1981 TO INITIATE A DOMESTIC
COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM, USING A SATELLITE DESIGNED
TO INDIAN SPECIFICATIONS.

WE ARE PLEASED THAT OUR SPACE TECHNOLOGY, TOGETHER
WITH INDIA'S SUPERB SPACE COMMUNICATIONS CAPABILITY, WILL
SERVE THE CAUSE OF PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

~~OUR GROWING SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION SHOULD BE
ANCHORED IN EXPANDED KNOWLEDGE OF EACH OTHER'S PEOPLE AND
CULTURES.~~

OUR SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES HAVE ALREADY ENRICHED THE
LIVES OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THEM, AND I
HOPE THE SAME HAS BEEN TRUE OF INDIAN PARTICIPANTS.

~~I WANT OUR EXCHANGES OF PERSONS AND INFORMATION
TO FLOURISH AND GROW.~~

IN MATTERS OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS, WE KNOW HOW
MUCH WE HAVE TO GAIN. NOT ONLY INDIA BUT ALSO THE REST
OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE MUCH TO OFFER US.
FROM WHICH WE MIGHT LEARN

I HOPE TO EXPAND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR
CITIZENS TO APPRECIATE THE STRONG AND VARIED CULTURE
IN THE NATIONS OF YOUR PART OF THE WORLD.

* * *

IN GLOBAL POLITICS, HISTORY HAS CAST OUR COUNTRIES
IN DIFFERENT ROLES.

THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THE TWO SO-CALLED
SUPERPOWERS; INDIA IS THE LARGEST OF THE NONALIGNED
COUNTRIES.

BUT EACH OF US RESPECTS THE OTHER'S CONCEPTION OF
ITS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE VALUES WE DO
SHARE PROVIDE A BASIS FOR COOPERATION IN ATTACKING THE
GREAT GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, HUMAN RIGHTS,
AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR.

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THIS PURSUIT OF JUSTICE AND THE BUILDING OF A NEW
ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE WORLD MUST BE UNDERTAKEN IN WAYS
THAT PROMOTE CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT RATHER THAN
FRUITLESS CONFRONTATION. EVERY COUNTRY WILL SUFFER IF
THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IS PERMITTED TO FOUNDER.

BECAUSE INDIA IS BOTH A DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND AN
INDUSTRIAL POWER, YOU ARE IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO PROMOTE
CONSTRUCTIVE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION ABOUT TRADE, ENERGY,
INVESTMENT, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, TECHNOLOGY, AND OTHER
QUESTION. I WELCOME YOUR PLAYING THIS ROLE.

I KNOW THAT THERE WILL BE TIMES WE WILL DISAGREE ON
SPECIFIC ISSUES AND EVEN ON GENERAL APPROACHES TO LARGER
PROBLEMS. BUT I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT OUR SHARED INTERESTS
AND COMMON DEVOTION TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES WILL HELP US MOVE
TOWARD AGREEMENT ON IMPORTANT GLOBAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES.

BUT NEITHER OF US SEEKS TO ALIGN...

BUT NEITHER OF US SEEKS TO ALIGN WITH THE OTHER
EXCEPT IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. WE CAN EVEN
HELP EACH OTHER TO ALLEVIATE DIFFERENCES WHICH MIGHT EXIST
WITH OTHER NATIONS.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE PART OF A DEMOCRATIC WORLD
THAT INCLUDES NATIONS AT ALL STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT, FROM
SWEDEN AND JAPAN TO SRI LANKA AND COSTA RICA.

WE SHARE MANY COMMON PROBLEMS. WE ALSO SHARE AN
OBLIGATION TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS -- NOT BY INTERFERING
IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER NATIONS, NOT BY TRYING TO DENY
OTHER NATIONS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN POLITICAL OR
SOCIAL SYSTEM, BUT BY SPEAKING THE TRUTH AS WE SEE IT AND
BY PROVIDING AN ADMIRABLE EXAMPLE OF WHAT DEMOCRACY
CAN MEAN AND WHAT IT CAN ACCOMPLISH.

THE DANGER OF WAR THREATENS EVERYONE, AND THE
UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO HELP REDUCE THAT DANGER --
IN ~~THE~~ ^{THE} SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IN TALKS
AIMED AT A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY, IN OUR
OWN POLICY OF RESTRAINT ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS.

WE ARE ALSO WORKING HARD TO RESTRICT THE PROLIFERATION
OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. WE ARE SEEKING TO HELP THE PROCESS
OF PEACE IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WE ARE TAKING
STEPS TO FORESTALL GREAT-POWER RIVALRY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

INDIA IS PLEDGED TO PEACEFUL COOPERATION WITH YOUR
NEIGHBORS, AND INDIA IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF ALMOST ANY
UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE, IS A PRESENT AND FREQUENT
MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND HAS BEEN IN THE
FOREFRONT OF CAMPAIGNS AGAINST COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID.

MORE AND MORE, WE FIND OURSELVES....

MORE AND MORE, WE FIND OURSELVES WORKING TOGETHER
TOWARD OUR COMMON GOALS: DEMOCRACY, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT,
SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

THE MOTTO OF MY COUNTRY IS "IN GOD WE TRUST."
Satya-meṽ Jay-ēhte
INDIA'S IS SATYAMEV JAYTE -- "TRUTH ALONE PREVAILS."

I BELIEVE THAT SUCH IS THE COMMONALITY OF OUR FUNDAMENTAL
VALUES THAT YOUR MOTTO COULD BE OURS AND PERHAPS OURS COULD BE
YOURS.

OUR NATIONS SHARE THE [COMMON] GOALS OF PEACE IN THE
WORLD AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN OUR OWN SOCIETIES.

AND WE SHARE AS WELL THE CONVICTION THAT THE MEANS WE EMPLOY
TO REACH THESE GOALS MUST BE AS MUCH IN KEEPING WITH THE
PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, HUMAN DIGNITY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE AS
ARE THE GOALS THEMSELVES.

THIS AFFINITY OF BELIEF IS AS STRONG A TIE AS THERE
CAN BE BETWEEN TWO NATIONS.

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THE VALUES THAT INDIANS AND AMERICANS SHARE HAVE
DEEPLY AFFECTED MY OWN LIFE. I COME TO YOU AS A NATIONAL
LEADER, IN THE HOPE THAT MY VISIT WILL MARK A NEW AND HIGHER
STAGE IN THE STEADILY IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES. BUT IN A MORE PERSONAL SENSE -- A SENSE THAT
IS VERY CLOSE TO MY HEART -- I COME AS A PILGRIM.

THIS MORNING I HAD THE HONOR OF LAYING A WREATH ON
THE MEMORIAL TO MAHATMA GANDHI. IN THAT SACRED PLACE, SO
SIMPLE AND SERENE, I RECALLED ANEW THE WAYS IN WHICH
GANDHI'S TEACHINGS HAVE TOUCHED THE LIVES OF SO MANY
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN MY COUNTRY.

WHEN I WAS GROWING UP ON A FARM IN THE STATE OF
GEORGIA, IN THE HEART OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AN
INVISIBLE WALL OF RACIAL SEGREGATION STOOD BETWEEN ME
AND MY BLACK PLAYMATES AS SOON AS WE WERE OLD ENOUGH TO GO
TO SCHOOL.

IT SEEMED THEN AS IF THAT WALL...

IT SEEMED THEN AS IF THAT WALL WOULD EXIST
FOREVER.

BUT IT DID NOT STAND FOREVER. IT CRUMBLED AND FELL,
AND THOUGH THE RUBBLE HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETELY REMOVED,
IT NO LONGER SEPARATES US ONE FROM ANOTHER, BLIGHTING
THE LIVES OF THOSE ON BOTH SIDES OF IT.

AMONG THE MANY WHO MARCHED AND SUFFERED AND BORE
WITNESS AGAINST THE EVIL OF RACIAL PREJUDICE, THE
GREATEST WAS DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., A SON OF GEORGIA
AND A SPIRITUAL SON OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN THE LIFE AND WORK
OF DR. KING, APART FROM HIS OWN RELIGIOUS FAITH, WAS THE
LIFE AND WORK OF GANDHI. MARTIN LUTHER KING TOOK
ah-HIM-za and Sat-YA-gra-huh non-violence
GANDHI'S CONCEPTS OF [AHIMSA AND SATYAGRAHA] NON-VIOLENCE
AND TRUTH-FORCE -- AND PUT THEM TO WORK IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH.

LIKE GANDHI, KING BELIEVED THAT TRUTH AND LOVE
ARE THE STRONGEST FORCES IN THE UNIVERSE.

LIKE GANDHI, HE KNEW THAT ORDINARY PEOPLE, ARMED
ONLY WITH COURAGE AND FAITH, COULD OVERCOME INJUSTICE BY
APPEALING TO THE SPARK OF GOOD IN THE HEART OF THE
EVILDOER.

LIKE GANDHI, WE ALL LEARNED THAT A SYSTEM OF
OPPRESSION DAMAGES THOSE AT THE TOP OF IT AS SURELY AS
IT DOES THOSE AT THE BOTTOM.

AND FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, AS FOR MAHATMA GANDHI,
NON-VIOLENCE WAS NOT ONLY A POLITICAL METHOD, IT WAS A WAY
OF LIFE AND A SPIRITUAL PATH TO UNION WITH THE ULTIMATE.

THESE MEN SET A STANDARD OF COURAGE AND IDEALISM THAT
FEW OF US CAN MEET, BUT FROM WHICH ALL OF US CAN DRAW
INSPIRATION AND SUSTENANCE.

THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT FOR RACIAL JUSTICE IN THE
UNITED STATES -- A MOVEMENT INSPIRED IN LARGE MEASURE BY
THE TEACHINGS AND EXAMPLE OF GANDHI AND OTHER INDIAN
LEADERS -- CHANGED AND ENRICHED MY OWN LIFE AND THE LIVES
OF MANY MILLIONS OF MY COUNTRYMEN.

I AM SURE YOU WILL FORGIVE ME FOR SPEAKING ABOUT ~~IT~~ *THIS*
AT SOME LENGTH. I DO SO BECAUSE I WANT YOU ALL TO
UNDERSTAND THAT WHEN I SPEAK OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND INDIA, I SPEAK FROM THE HEART AS WELL
AS THE HEAD. I SPEAK FROM A DEEP, FIRSTHAND KNOWLEDGE
OF WHAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAS
MEANT IN THE PAST AND WHAT IT CAN MEAN IN THE FUTURE.

FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY AND INTO THE NEXT,
THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD WILL INCREASINGLY
TURN TO EACH OTHER FOR ANSWERS TO OUR MOST PRESSING COMMON
CHALLENGE:

. . . HOW OUR POLITICAL AND
SPIRITUAL VALUES . . .

. . . HOW OUR POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES CAN
PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR DEALING WITH THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
STRAINS TO WHICH THEY WILL UNQUESTIONABLY BE SUBJECTED.

THE EXPERIENCE OF DEMOCRACY IS LIKE THE EXPERIENCE
OF LIFE ITSELF -- ALWAYS CHANGING, INFINITE IN ITS VARIETY,
SOMETIMES TURBULENT, AND ALL THE MORE VALUABLE FOR HAVING
BEEN TESTED BY ADVERSITY.

WE SHARE THAT EXPERIENCE WITH YOU AND DRAW STRENGTH
FROM IT.

WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND
YOURS, WE ARE MOVING ALONG THE PATH OF DEMOCRACY TOWARD
A COMMON GOAL OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

I KNOW I SPEAK FOR ALL AMERICANS WHEN I SAY THAT
I AM GRATEFUL THAT WE TRAVEL THAT ROAD TOGETHER.

#

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
JANUARY 6, 1978

MR. PRESIDENT, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION:

I AM GLAD TO MEET WITH YOU TODAY, AND TO
CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS THAT BEGAN WHEN MY ADMINISTRATION
WAS ONLY A FEW HOURS OLD.

BEFORE MY FIRST WEEK IN OFFICE WAS OVER,
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE BEGAN HIS VISIT TO OUR TRADITIONAL
ALLIES, STOPPING FIRST OF ALL IN BRUSSELS, HOME OF THOSE
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT REPRESENT OUR SHARED HOPE
FOR A SECURE AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE.

AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE
HEADQUARTERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, I BELIEVE THIS
MEETING SYMBOLIZES AMERICA'S ABIDING COMMITMENT TO A STRONG
AND UNITED EUROPE, AND TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

IT HAS BEEN MY PLEASURE . . .

IT HAS BEEN MY PLEASURE TO MEET OFTEN WITH THE
COMMUNITY'S LEADERS. IN ADDITION TO MEETING PRESIDENT
JENKINS BOTH AT THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT AND IN
WASHINGTON, I BENEFITTED FROM MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTERS
CALLAGHAN AND TINDEMANS DURING THEIR COUNTRIES' TERM IN
THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL.

AS I HAVE TRAVELLED IN THESE LAST NINE DAYS,
CROSSING CONTINENTS AND CULTURES, DISCUSSING DIFFERENT
SYSTEMS OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, SEEING HUMANITY IN
ITS FULL DIVERSE ARRAY, I HAVE REAFFIRMED CERTAIN
CONSTANT THEMES TIME AFTER TIME.

I HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL
VALUES, AND THE STEPS NEEDED TO DEFEND THEM; THE ECONOMIC
CHALLENGES WE FACE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING
WORLD, AND THE NEED TO COPE WITH PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN.

WE MUST ALSO OPEN OUR HEARTS TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES
FOR PEACE, WHILE ALWAYS MAINTAINING THE STRONG RIGHT
ARM OF OUR DEFENSE.

I HAVE REPEATED THESE THEMES BECAUSE THEY NEED
REPETITION, BECAUSE THEY EXPRESS TO THE WORLD THE VALUES
MY NATION MOST DEEPLY HOLDS.

I AM PROUD TODAY TO ADD ANOTHER -- THAT THE
UNITED STATES WELCOMES A STRONG, UNITED EUROPE AS A
COMMON FORCE FOR THE VALUES OUR PEOPLES SHARE.

THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART TO WORK WITH
YOU.

OUR ECONOMY IS PROSPEROUS AND GROWING, CONTINUING
ITS STEADY RECOVERY.

BECAUSE WE HAVE CONFIDENCE . . .

BECAUSE WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL
STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMY, WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE
FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR, NOW AND FOR THE FUTURE.

BUT WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH OUR
OWN PROSPERITY DEPENDS MORE THAN EVER ON INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE COMMUNITY IN
A WIDE VARIETY OF WAYS, IN ORDER:

-- TO PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF NATIONS
SO AS TO CONTROL INFLATION, REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT, AND
ACHIEVE MONETARY STABILITY;

-- TO REACH A RAPID AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO
THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THUS TO EXPAND
INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CREATE MORE JOBS IN ALL COUNTRIES,
AND HELP US ALL RESIST PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES;

-- TO WORK CREATIVELY TOWARD MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING NATIONS;

-- TO COOPERATE IN PROVIDING A ROLE FOR NUCLEAR
TECHNOLOGY IN MEETING OUR ENERGY NEEDS, WITHOUT HAZARDING
OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE THROUGH THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION; AND

-- TO FIND ANSWERS TOGETHER TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS FACING EACH OF OUR SOCIETIES.

AS I SAID IN PARIS TWO DAYS AGO, WE MUST USE THE
TOOLS OF SHARED FREEDOM TO INCREASE THE CHOICES AND
OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

WE CAN SHARE OUR EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT --
IN EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SERVICES, THE ORGANIZATION
AND MANAGEMENT OF FACTORY AND FARM.

AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST . . .

AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST TRADING UNIT, THE
COMMUNITY SHARES WITH US A CLEAR INTEREST IN A SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION TO THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.

THEY ARE PROGRESSING WELL, THOUGH MUCH REMAINS
TO BE DONE.

I WELCOME THE SUCCESS OF THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS
IN REACHING THE GOAL SET LAST MAY IN LONDON: SUBSTANTIAL
PROGRESS BY THE END OF 1977.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ALREADY SHOULD ENABLE THE
NEGOTIATIONS TO END THIS YEAR.

SPEED IS IMPORTANT, IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO
IMPROVE THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM AND REMOVE PRESSURE
FOR PROTECTIONISM.

WE NEED A BROAD PACKAGE OF AGREEMENTS, WITH MAJOR
REDUCTIONS IN TARIFFS AND NON-TARIFF BARRIERS, AND WITH
PROVISIONS FOR AGRICULTURE.

WE KNOW THAT EACH COUNTRY WILL FACE PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION TO A FREER TRADING SYSTEM.

BUT THOSE ARE A SMALL PRICE TO PAY FOR THE BENEFITS OF MORE OPEN TRADE; AND THEY ARE SMALL, TOO, IN COMPARISON TO THE DANGER OF PROTECTIONISM IF WE FAIL TO REACH A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT.

OUR NATIONS ALSO SHARE CONCERN FOR DEVELOPING COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAMS.

TWO MONTHS AGO, I POSTPONED MY VISIT HERE TO BRUSSELS IN ORDER TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENACT AN ENERGY PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES.

MY COUNTRY MUST WASTE LESS ENERGY AND DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF SUPPLY; AS SOON AS I RETURN, I WILL RESUME WORK ON THIS CRUCIAL LEGISLATION.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SOON BE SETTING AN EXAMPLE FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY POLICY.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES ALSO
SHARE A DEEP INTEREST IN PROMOTING RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES, AND OUR COOPERATION HAS LED TO CONSTRUCTIVE
RESULTS.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO DRAW THESE
COUNTRIES MORE FULLY INTO THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

THEY TOO MUST BE ABLE TO SHARE MORE EQUITABLY IN THE
BENEFITS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS,
AND TO PLAY AN APPROPRIATE ROLE IN MAKING GLOBAL ECONOMIC
DECISIONS.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES ALSO WELCOME THE GROWING POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY BEYOND WESTERN EUROPE.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTES VITALLY TO
REACHING GOALS WE SHARE.

MOST RECENTLY, I HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY THE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN US -- AND BY THE FIRM LEADERSHIP SHOWN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY -- AT THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

FINALLY, IN STRESSING OUR COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN UNITY, I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING A CLOSE AND PRODUCTIVE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THE YEARS AHEAD. AND I CAN THINK OF NO MORE FITTING TRIBUTE TO WHAT YOU ARE DOING THAN TO CITE THE WORDS OF JEAN MONNET, THE FATHER OF EUROPEAN UNITY: "YOU ARE NOT MAKING A COALITION OF STATES; YOU ARE UNITING PEOPLES."

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DEMOCRACY WAS THEN A NEW AND UNTRIED CONCEPT;
NOW IT IS THE STANDARD FOR OUR WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, INSPIRED
SO GREATLY BY FRENCH PHILOSOPHY, SPOKE OF THE "UNALIENABLE
RIGHTS" OF PERSONS: "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS."

THESE RIGHTS WERE CONTROVERSIAL THEN; NOW THEY ARE
THE MEASURE BY WHICH THE FAITHFULNESS OF GOVERNMENTS IS
TESTED.

DEMOCRACY IS INDEED A COMPELLING IDEA, AN IDEA SO
ATTRACTIVE THAT EVEN ITS ENEMIES NOW ATTEMPT TO CLOAK
REPRESSION WITH FALSE DEMOCRATIC LABELS.

BUT OUR DEMOCRATIC ORDER HAS COME UNDER CHALLENGE.
THERE ARE THOSE WHO QUESTION WHETHER DEMOCRATIC VALUES
ARE APPROPRIATE FOR CONTEMPORARY CIRCUMSTANCES.

VOICES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD ASK WHETHER NOTIONS
OF FREE SPEECH, PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND FREELY-CHOSEN
GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE PUSHED ASIDE, IN THE STRUGGLE
TO OVERCOME POVERTY.

VOICES IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD ASK WHETHER
DEMOCRACY EQUIPS US FOR THE FRENZIED PACE OF CHANGE IN
OUR MODERN LIVES.

WE HAVE HEARD WARNINGS THAT A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
CANNOT IMPOSE ON ITSELF THE RESTRAINT AND SELF-DISCIPLINE
NECESSARY TO COPE WITH PERSISTENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE DISPARATE ELEMENTS OF OUR
SOCIETIES CANNOT COHERE IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

GOVERNMENTS EVERYWHERE HAVE BEGUN TO SEEM
REMOTE, IMPERSONAL, INCOMPETENT. MANY PEOPLE QUESTION
WHETHER ANY GOVERNMENT CAN HEAR THEIR DISTANT AND
SOLITARY VOICES.

THESE PROBLEMS ARE REAL. . . .

DEMOCRACY IS NOT MERELY RIGHT AND JUST; IT IS
ALSO THE SYSTEM THAT IS MOST CONSISTENT WITH HUMAN NATURE.

IT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ORGANIZE SOCIETY
FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

WHERE THE STATE DOMINATES EVERYTHING, ONLY THE
NARROW TALENTS OF THE BUREAUCRAT ARE FREE TO FLOWER.

BUT THE PLURALISTIC NATURE OF A DEMOCRACY ALLOWS
FOR A BROAD RANGE OF TALENTS TO SUCCEED -- IN GOVERNMENT,
IN THE ARTS, IN LABOR, IN TECHNOLOGY, IN THE SCIENCES,
AND IN THE MARKETPLACE.

DEMOCRACY UNLEASHES THE INNATE CREATIVE ENERGY
IN EACH OF US.

WE NEED LOOK NO FURTHER BACK THAN THE LAST THREE
DECADES TO SEE UNPARALLED SUCCESS. THESE YEARS HAVE BEEN
AN EXTRAORDINARY TIME FOR FRANCE, FOR WESTERN EUROPE,
THE UNITED STATES, AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

FRANCE AND ITS PARTNERS IN WESTERN EUROPE ROSE
FROM THE DESTRUCTION AND TURMOIL OF WORLD WAR II TO BUILD
ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES MORE THRIVING AND PRODUCTIVE
THAN EVER BEFORE, AND TO REGAIN POSITIONS OF WORLD
LEADERSHIP.

NEVER HAVE SO MANY NEW JOBS AND SO MUCH NEW
WEALTH BEEN CREATED, OR SO MUCH CHANGE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES BEEN
MANAGED SO EFFECTIVELY -- AND YET WITH SO MUCH FREEDOM.

ALL OF THIS IS NO ACCIDENT. NATIONS WITH OTHER
POLITICAL SYSTEMS, IN SPITE OF THEIR GREAT HUMAN AND
NATURAL RESOURCES, HAVE NOT DONE AS WELL.

AND DEMOCRACY PROTECTS US AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF
MODERNIZATION. IT HELPS US CONSTANTLY TO REDUCE THE
RISE COMPLEXITY OF MODERN LIFE TO HUMAN TERMS.

AT A TIME WHEN THE COMPUTER . . .

AT A TIME WHEN THE COMPUTER MAKES TOTAL STATE
CONTROL MORE POSSIBLE THAN EVER -- PROCESSING PEOPLE
LIKE NUMBERS -- DEMOCRACY STANDS GUARD, PROTECTING THE
UNIQUENESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

THIS IS WHY THE GREAT TREND OF EMIGRATION IN THE
WORLD IS FROM THOSE STATES WHICH DENY BASIC RIGHTS TO
THEIR PEOPLE, AND TOWARD THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WEST.

THAT IS WHY INDIA HAS REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO
RULE BY THE PEOPLE AND WHY PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND GREECE
HAVE REJOINED THE RANKS OF EUROPE'S DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

WE DO NOT FEAR THE CHALLENGES WHICH TEST OUR
CHOSEN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

BUT TODAY WE NEED A NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY.

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THE FIRST TASK ON THIS AGENDA IS TO DEVISE WAYS
IN WHICH GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BETTER
AND MORE QUICKLY RESPOND TO THE HIGHER STANDARDS OF
LEADERSHIP AND SERVICE DEMANDED BY OUR PEOPLE.

THIS IS A TIME OF TESTING. ALREADY THE VARIED
EXPERIMENTS ARE UNDER WAY, ACCORDING TO THE UNIQUE
TRADITIONS AND NEEDS OF EACH COUNTRY.

IN WESTERN EUROPE, SUCCESSFUL SHARING OF THE
FRUITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY HAS
PROVIDED A WAY TO HELP OVERCOME MOUNTING SOCIAL
PROBLEMS.

IN FRANCE, YOU ARE MAKING . . .

IN FRANCE, YOU ARE MAKING A YOUNG CONSTITUTION
WORK, IN BALANCING AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND
THE LEGISLATURE.

IN SOME COUNTRIES, LIKE GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA,
THERE ARE CONTINUING EXPERIMENTS IN NEW FORMS OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT.

THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ARE
PLANNING TO HOLD DIRECT ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT.

IN MY OWN NATION, WE ARE TRYING TO REDUCE
GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN AREAS BETTER LEFT TO PRIVATE
BUSINESS OR THE INDIVIDUAL.

"THE PLURALISM OF POWER GUARANTEES FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS DOES NOT RESULT IN DISORDER, BUT IN
A BETTER BALANCE OF ORDER WITHIN FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY."

* * *

THE SECOND ITEM ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY
IS THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE.

WE MUST NOT ONLY RESTORE GROWTH, CONTROL
INFLATION, AND REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT.

WE MUST ALSO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC
ECONOMIC SYSTEM CAN ADAPT TO THE DEMANDS PLACED ON IT.

THIS MEANS PROVING AGAIN THAT WE HAVE THE DISCIPLINE
TO PURSUE OUR FUTURE, NO LESS THAN OUR CURRENT INTERESTS,
SO THAT CONTENDING DOMESTIC GROUPS WILL NOT PRODUCE CHAOS
AND DISCORD, BUT A NEW HARMONY OF EFFORT FOR THE COMMON
GOOD.

IT MEANS INCREASING OUR EFFORTS . . .

IT MEANS INCREASING OUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE
FRUITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH REACH ALL PARTS OF SOCIETY, SO THAT
EACH INDIVIDUAL WILL SHARE THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

AND IT MEANS USING OUR RESOURCES TO PROMOTE HUMAN
DEVELOPMENT -- NOT JUST GROWTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

OUR DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIES NOW HAVE UNPRECEDENTED
STRENGTH TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE.

WE HAVE SKILLED WORK FORCES. WE HAVE PRODUCTIVE
PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT, EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT, AND THE WILL
AND MEANS TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH ONE ANOTHER -- BOTH
WITHIN NATIONS AND AMONG NATIONS.

AND, IN THE FREE MARKET, WE HAVE A MEANS OF MATCHING
PRODUCTION TO HUMAN NEEDS THAT IS SWIFTER AND MORE SUBTLE
THAN ANY COMPUTER, MORE SENSITIVE TO SOCIETY'S REQUIREMENTS
THAN ANY STATE COMMITTEE.

MY COUNTRY IS ABLE . . .

AND FOLLOWING THE FRENCH EXAMPLE, WE ARE HARD
AT WORK ON A COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAM WHICH WILL
LESSEN OUR IMPORTS OF FOREIGN OIL, REDUCE UNDUE
DEPENDENCE, AND CUT THE DEFICIT IN OUR BALANCE OF TRADE.

FRANCE AND AMERICA AND THE OTHER INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACIES ARE EMERGING FROM THE ECONOMIC RECESSION
OF RECENT YEARS.

SOME OF US CAN TURN OUR ATTENTION AT ONCE TO
NON-INFLATIONARY GROWTH. OTHERS MUST FIRST TAKE
PAINFUL MEASURES TO REDUCE INFLATION.

AS MORE NATIONS ARE ABLE TO PURSUE HIGHER GROWTH,
OUR ECONOMIES WILL CREATE MORE JOBS. UNEMPLOYMENT WILL
GO DOWN.

CONFIDENCE IN STEADY GROWTH . . .

CONFIDENCE IN STEADY GROWTH WILL REDUCE PRESSURES
FOR TRADE RESTRICTIONS, MAKE IT EASIER FOR US TO ADAPT
TO CHANGES WITHIN OUR SOCIETIES, HELP US MAKE MORE
EFFICIENT USE OF ENERGY, AND MAKE IT EASIER FOR COUNTRIES
WITH PAYMENTS SURPLUSES TO OPEN THEIR MARKETS TO
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALIKE.

BUT THERE ARE ALSO MANY OTHER ECONOMIC NEEDS TODAY.

THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS THAT SERVED US WELL IN
THE PAST NEED TO BE STRENGTHENED.

WE MUST REACH A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF BASIC
ECONOMIC FORCES SO THAT WE CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF
SIMULTANEOUS INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

WE MUST DEVOTE MUCH GREATER EFFORT TO FURTHER
ADVANCES IN HIGH TECHNOLOGY, TO HELP ALL OUR NATIONS
COMPETE EFFECTIVELY IN TOMORROW'S MARKETS.

WE MUST DEVELOP NEW AND . . .

WE MUST DEVELOP NEW AND PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES
AND SERVICES, SO THAT WE CAN MODERATE THE IMPACT ON OUR
PEOPLES OF CHANGE IMPOSED BY INCREASED GLOBAL COMPETITION
FOR JOBS AND MARKETS.

WE MUST SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT.
UNLESS WE DO, PART OF AN ENTIRE GENERATION COULD BE
ESTRANGED FROM OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

WE MUST TAKE STEPS TO AVOID EXPORTING OUR
ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES TO OTHER NATIONS, WHETHER RICH
OR POOR.

AND WE MUST USE THE TOOLS OF SHARED FREEDOM TO
INCREASE THE CHOICES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR ECONOMIC
SYSTEM.

WE CAN SHARE OUR EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT --
IN EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SERVICES, THE ORGANIZATION
AND MANAGEMENT OF FARM AND FACTORY.

AT THE HEART OF ALL THESE EFFORTS . . .

AT THE HEART OF ALL THESE EFFORTS IS CONTINUED
COOPERATION ALONG WITH OUR OTHER ECONOMIC PARTNERS IN
SUCH WAYS AS THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS FIRST PROPOSED BY
FRANCE.

THIS COOPERATION SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE INDIVIDUALITY
OF EACH NATION WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT OUR ECONOMIC
WELLBEING WILL RISE OR FALL TOGETHER.

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THE THIRD TASK ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY
IS TO PROVIDE FOR OUR MUTUAL SECURITY.

I COME TO FRANCE TODAY RECOGNIZING THAT OUR TWO
NATIONS SHARE A BASIC COMMITMENT TO PRESERVE OUR
HARD-WON FREEDOM. WE ARE ABLE, WITH OUR ALLIES, TO KEEP
OUR FREEDOM PRECISELY BECAUSE WE ARE MILITARILY STRONG.

OUR CENTRAL SECURITY PROBLEM TODAY IS MAINTAINING
OUR WILL TO KEEP THE MILITARY STRENGTH WE NEED, WHILE
SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD A BETTER PEACE.

MILITARY POWER WITHOUT DETENTE MAY LEAD TO CONFLICT;
BUT DETENTE WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE NATO ALLIANCE
AND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE.

BOTH FRANCE AND AMERICA PROVE THAT THE PEOPLES
OF A DEMOCRACY CAN AND WILL SUPPORT THESE JOINT GOALS OF
STRENGTH AND PEACE.

THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND
PEOPLE TO THE SECURITY OF EUROPE IS ABSOLUTE.

THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN IN
EUROPE WHATEVER FORCES ARE NEEDED TO MEET THAT COMMITMENT.

WE ARE ALSO THANKFUL THAT FRANCE MAINTAINS AND IMPROVES
FORCES THAT ARE ESSENTIAL FOR DEFENSE.

BUT WE ALSO SEE THE NEED . . .

BUT WE ALSO SEE THE NEED TO MOVE BEYOND
CONFRONTATION, TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST
AND WEST, AND TO PROGRESS TOWARD ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK BALANCED AND MUTUAL
LIMITS ON QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DEPLOYMENT OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THEN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, LEADING TO THE EVENTUAL
ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A POTENTIAL DESTRUCTIVE
FORCE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK EARLY AGREEMENT ON A
COMPREHENSIVE BAN OF THE TESTING OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES,
BOTH MILITARY WEAPONS AND SO-CALLED PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
DEVICES.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEEK A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

WE WILL WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS TO ACHIEVE THE
ADVANTAGES WHICH SUCH AGREEMENTS CAN BRING.

WHILE THE APPROACHES OF FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES
TO THESE ISSUES MAY SOMETIMES DIFFER, OUR DESIRE TO BUILD
A MORE STABLE PEACE IS ONE AND THE SAME.

AND IN ALL THESE EFFORTS, WE WILL CONSULT AND
COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH YOU, AND WITH OUR OTHER ALLIES --
RECOGNIZING THE INDEPENDENCE OF EACH NATION, BUT ALSO
OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS AND COMMITMENTS.

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THE FOURTH TASK ON DEMOCRACY'S NEW AGENDA IS THE
EFFORT OF EUROPEANS TO SHAPE THEIR FUTURE.

FOR THE GOAL YOU HAVE SET . . .

THE FIFTH AND FINAL ITEM ON THE NEW AGENDA FOR
DEMOCRACY IS TO COOPERATE AMONG OURSELVES IN ADAPTING
TO GLOBAL CHANGE.

THE SAME FACTORS THAT LED TO OUR ECONOMIC SUCCESSES
OVER THE PAST TWO GENERATIONS -- SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,
EDUCATION AND HEALTH, THE WILL AND WISDOM OF INDIVIDUAL
MEN AND WOMEN -- HAVE ALSO ALTERED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

EUROPEAN NATIONS, INDIVIDUALLY OR TOGETHER, ALSO
HAVE AN INCREASING ROLE TO PLAY BEYOND THE CONTINENT,
PARTICULARLY IN REORDERING RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND
SOUTH.

IT WAS LESS THAN A HUNDRED YEARS . . .

IT WAS LESS THAN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO THAT THE
EUROPEAN POWERS MET TO DIVIDE THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA
AMONG THEM. AND YET TODAY, COLONIALISM HAS NEARLY ENDED.

BEFORE WORLD WAR II, 80 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S
LAND MASS AND 75 PERCENT OF ITS PEOPLE WERE UNDER
WESTERN AUTHORITY. BUT TODAY THERE ARE MORE THAN A
HUNDRED NEW NATIONS, EACH WITH INSISTENT NEEDS AND
DEMANDS.

A FEW YEARS AGO, THE WEST MADE VIRTUALLY ALL THE
DECISIONS ABOUT THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

BUT NOW, IMPORTANT RESOURCES ARE ALSO UNDER THE
CONTROL OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- AS THE ENERGY CRISIS
HAS MADE CLEAR. THE COUNCILS OF ECONOMIC ACTION CAN NO
LONGER BE LIMITED TO A FEW.

IN PROPOSING THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE,
PRESIDENT GISCARD SPOKE OF CREATING NEW FORMS OF
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

WHAT HE SAID THEN STANDS AS THE WATCHWORD OF ALL
OUR EFFORTS TOGETHER:

"(THIS) SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A VICTORY FOR
SOME COUNTRIES OVER OTHERS, ACHIEVED BY TAKING ADVANTAGE
OF TEMPORARY POWER RELATIONSHIPS. RATHER IT MUST BE A
VICTORY OF MANKIND OVER ITSELF "

IF WE MOVE IN THAT SPIRIT, AND DIRECT OUR
EFFORTS TOGETHER TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE
OUR NATIONS AND THE WORLD, THEN WE SHALL SURELY GAIN
THAT VICTORY.

WE WILL VINDICATE OUR DEEP AND ABIDING FAITH IN
THE STRENGTH OF DEMOCRACY TO GROW AND DEVELOP WITH
THE TIMES.

SIX DAYS AGO, I LEFT THE UNITED STATES ON A TOUR
WHOSE CONSTANT THEME HAS BEEN THE UNIVERSAL VITALITY OF
DEMOCRACY.

IN POLAND, IRAN, INDIA, SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, AND
NOW IN FRANCE, I HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR MODERN STRUGGLE
IS NOT ONLY TO ESTABLISH PEACE, BUT ALSO TO PROTECT THE
INDIVIDUAL FROM THE POWER OF THE STATE.

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TOMORROW, WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING,
I WILL LEAVE PARIS TO VISIT THE BEACHES AT NORMANDY.

IF THE NAMES OMAHA, UTAH, JUNO, GOLD, ^{and Sword} WILL ALWAYS
LIVE IN THE MEMORIES OF BOTH OUR PEOPLES, IT IS BECAUSE
THEY REMIN US AT WHAT COST OUR LIBERTIES HAVE
BEEN PURCHASED, AND WHAT A PRECIOUS HERITAGE HAS BEEN
LEFT FOR US TO DEFEND.

THESE NAMES REMIND US THAT . . .

THESE NAMES REMIND US THAT LIBERTY IS NOT SECURED
WITH ONE DEFENSE, BUT MUST BE STRUGGLED FOR AGAIN -- AND
AGAIN -- AND AGAIN.

OUR ANCESTORS MADE THEIR DEFENSE WITH PRINCIPLES,
AND WITH REVOLUTION.

PEOPLE OF MY PARENTS' GENERATION, AND OF MY OWN,
BORE ARMS IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM.

MANY OF THEM ARE LEFT AT NORMANDY BEACH, AND AT
THE THOUSAND OTHER SHRINES TO LIBERTY ACROSS THE WORLD.

THOUGH WE WILL ALWAYS BE PREPARED, WE PRAY THAT
THEIR SACRIFICE IN BATTLE NEED NEVER BE REPEATED; AND
WE KNOW THAT WAR NEED NOT COME AGAIN, SO LONG AS WE
TRANSMIT OUR DEVOTION TO THOSE VALUES OF FREE PEOPLE --
STRENGTHENED AND RENEWED -- TO EACH SUCCEEDING GENERATION.

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INDIA HAS GIVEN HER AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER IN A THUNDEROUS
VOICE -- A VOICE HEARD AROUND THE WORLD. SOMETHING
MOMENTOUS HAPPENED HERE LAST MARCH -- NOT BECAUSE ANY
PARTICULAR PARTY WON OR LOST, BUT RATHER, I THINK, BECAUSE
THE LARGEST ELECTORATE ON EARTH FREELY AND WISELY CHOSE
ITS LEADERS AT THE POLLS. IN THIS SENSE, DEMOCRACY ITSELF
WAS THE VICTOR.

TOGETHER, WE UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE REALM OF POLITICS,
FREEDOM IS THE ENGINE OF PROGRESS.

INDIA AND AMERICA SHARE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH
DEMOCRACY.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE PROUD OF HAVING ACHIEVED
POLITICAL UNION AMONG A PEOPLE WHOSE ANCESTORS COME FROM ALL
OVER THE WORLD. OUR SYSTEM STRIVES TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS
OF A GREAT VARIETY OF MINORITIES -- INCLUDING, BY THE WAY,
A GROWING AND PRODUCTIVE GROUP OF FAMILIES FROM INDIA.

ALL THESE RIGHTS ARE RECOGNIZED IN INTERNATIONAL
COVENANTS. THERE ARE FEW GOVERNMENTS WHICH DO NOT AT LEAST
PAY LIP SERVICE TO THEM. AND YET, TO QUOTE GANDHI ONCE
MORE, "NO PRINCIPLE EXISTS IN THE ABSTRACT. WITHOUT ITS
CONCRETE APPLICATION IT HAS NO MEANING."

IN INDIA, AS IN THE UNITED STATES, THESE RIGHTS
HAVE CONCRETE APPLICATION -- AND REAL MEANING.

IT IS TO PRESERVE THESE RIGHTS THAT BOTH OUR NATIONS
HAVE CHOSEN SIMILAR POLITICAL PATHS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF
OUR RESOURCES AND THE BETTERMENT OF THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE.

THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US IN THE DEGREE TO
WHICH ECONOMIC GROWTH IS PURSUED THROUGH PUBLIC ENTERPRISE,
ON THE ONE HAND, AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, ON THE OTHER --
BUT MORE IMPORTANT THAN THESE DIFFERENCES IS OUR SHARED
BELIEF THAT THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN WHICH DEVELOPMENT
TAKES PLACE SHOULD BE DEMOCRATIC AND SHOULD RESPECT THE
HUMAN RIGHTS OF EACH AND EVERY CITIZEN.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES ALSO AGREE THAT HUMAN NEEDS ARE
INSEPARABLE FROM HUMAN RIGHTS -- THAT WHILE CIVIL AND
POLITICAL LIBERTIES ARE GOOD IN THEMSELVES, THEY ARE MUCH
MORE USEFUL AND MUCH MORE MEANINGFUL IN THE LIVES OF PEOPLE
TO WHOM PHYSICAL SURVIVAL IS NOT A MATTER OF DAILY ANXIETY.

TO HAVE SUFFICIENT FOOD; TO LIVE AND WORK; TO BE
ADEQUATELY SHELTERED AND CLOTHED; TO LIVE IN A HEALTHY
ENVIRONMENT AND BE HEALED WHEN SICK; TO LEARN AND BE
TAUGHT -- THESE RIGHTS, TOO, MUST BE THE CONCERNS OF OUR
GOVERNMENTS. TO MEET THESE NEEDS, ORDERLY ECONOMIC GROWTH
IS CRUCIAL. AND IF THE BENEFITS OF GROWTH ARE TO REACH
THOSE WHOSE NEED IS GREATEST, SOCIAL JUSTICE IS CRUCIAL
AS WELL.

INDIA IS SUCCESSING IN THIS HISTORIC TASK. YOUR
ECONOMIC CHALLENGES ARE NO SECRET, AND THEIR SERIOUSNESS
IS WELL UNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST.

WHAT IS FAR LESS WELL

UNDERSTOOD . . .

WHAT IS FAR LESS WELL UNDERSTOOD IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH INDIAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BEEN A SUCCESS. IN THE SINGLE GENERATION SINCE YOUR INDEPENDENCE WAS GAINED, EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.

INDIA IS NOW A MAJOR INDUSTRIAL POWER. YOUR ECONOMY RANKS AMONG THE TEN LARGEST IN THE WORLD. IT IS VIRTUALLY SELF-SUFFICIENT IN CONSUMER GOODS AND A WIDE VARIETY OF IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTS.

THERE HAVE BEEN NOTABLE INCREASES IN PRODUCTION IN NEARLY EVERY IMPORTANT SECTOR OF INDUSTRY -- INCREASES WHICH REFLECT AN ECONOMY OF GREAT TECHNOLOGICAL SOPHISTICATION. THIS KIND OF GROWTH MAKES IT DOUBLY IMPORTANT TO TRY TO REDUCE TRADE BARRIERS, AND TO PROMOTE BOTH BILATERAL TRADE AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM.

MOST IMPORTANT, THOUGH, ARE THE ADVANCES IN HUMAN
WELFARE THAT HAVE TOUCHED THE LIVES OF ORDINARY INDIANS.

LIFE EXPECTANCY HAS INCREASED BY TWENTY YEARS SINCE
INDEPENDENCE. THE THREAT OF MAJOR EPIDEMICS HAS RECEDED.
THE LITERACY RATE HAS DOUBLED. WHILE ONLY A THIRD OF
INDIAN CHILDREN WENT TO SCHOOL IN THE YEARS JUST AFTER
INDEPENDENCE, NEARLY 90 PERCENT OF PRIMARY-AGE INDIAN
CHILDREN NOW RECEIVE SCHOOLING. NINE TIMES AS MANY STUDENTS
GO TO UNIVERSITIES AS BEFORE.

I MENTION THESE GAINS BECAUSE WE TEND TO OVERLOOK
THEM IN OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT QUITE
PROPERLY ENGAGE MOST OF OUR ATTENTION.

INDIA'S DIFFICULTIES, WHICH WE OFTEN EXPERIENCE
OURSELVES, AND WHICH ARE TYPICAL OF THE PROBLEMS FACED IN
THE DEVELOPING WORLD, REMIND US OF THE TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD.

BUT INDIA'S SUCCESSES ARE JUST AS. . .

WE WANT TO LEARN FROM YOU AND TO WORK WITH YOU
HOWEVER WE CAN.

IN AGRICULTURE THERE ARE ALSO EXCITING NEW AREAS
OF TECHNOLOGY ON WHICH WE CAN WORK TOGETHER. AFTER A
DECADE OF IMPORTING GRAIN, INDIA NOW STANDS WITH A SURPLUS
OF NEARLY 20 MILLION TONS. THIS IS A TRIBUTE TO THE
GROWING PRODUCTIVITY OF YOUR AGRICULTURE AND THE
COMPETENCE OF YOUR ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES.

WE APPLAUD THE GRAIN RESERVE PROGRAM YOU HAVE
BEGUN AND WE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE WITH
YOU OUR RESOURCES AND EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE STORAGE
PROBLEMS THAT SURPLUSES BRING WITH THEM.

OUR COUNTRIES MUST BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE EFFORT
TO BRING INTO EXISTENCE THE INTERNATIONAL FOOD RESERVE THAT
WOULD MITIGATE THE FEAR OF FAMINE IN THE REST OF THE WORLD.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT TODAY'S
SURPLUSES ARE LIKELY TO BE A TEMPORARY PHENOMENON.
THE BEST ESTIMATES INDICATE THAT UNLESS NEW PRODUCTIVE
CAPACITY IS DEVELOPED, THE WHOLE WORLD WITH ITS RAPIDLY
GROWING POPULATION MAY BE FACING LARGE FOOD SHORTAGES BY
THE MID-1980s.

THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL
PRODUCTIVITY EXIST HERE IN INDIA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE
DEVELOPING WORLD. THESE OPPORTUNITIES MUST BE SEIZED --
NOT JUST SO THAT INDIANS CAN EAT BETTER, BUT SO THAT
INDIA CAN REMAIN SELF-SUFFICIENT, AND PERHAPS EVEN EXPORT
FOOD TO COUNTRIES WITH LESS AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL.

IN THE PAST, AMERICA AND INDIA HAVE SCORED
MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN WORKING TOGETHER IN THE
AGRICULTURAL FIELD.

BUT THERE IS STILL A VAST . . .

ONE OF THE MOST PROMISING AREAS FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS IN THE REGIONS OF EASTERN INDIA AND BANGLADESH, WHERE ALTERNATING PERIODS OF DROUGHT AND FLOOD CUT CRUELLY INTO FOOD PRODUCTION. SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE LIVE IN THIS AREA. THEY HAPPEN TO BE CITIZENS OF INDIA, BANGLADESH, AND NEPAL.

BUT THEY ARE ALSO CITIZENS OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY HAS A STAKE IN ENSURING THAT THEIR NEEDS ARE MET.

GREAT PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE IN RESOLVING WATER QUESTIONS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE OUR SUPPORT WHEN THE REGIONAL STATES REQUEST A STUDY THAT WILL DEFINE HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA, CAN HELP THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION USE WATER FROM THE RIVERS AND THE MOUNTAINS TO ACHIEVE THE PRODUCTIVITY THAT IS INHERENT IN THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH REQUIRES...

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF SUNLIGHT IN INDIA, AND THE
LACK OF A MASSIVE EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE TIED TO FOSSIL
FUEL USE WILL MAKE THE APPLICATION OF SOLAR AND SOLAR-RELATED
ENERGY VASTLY EASIER HERE THAN IT WILL BE IN MY COUNTRY.

MOREOVER, THE INHERENTLY DECENTRALIZED NATURE OF
SOLAR ENERGY MAKES IT IDEAL AS A COMPLEMENT TO YOUR
GOVERNMENT'S STRESS ON DEVELOPING SELF-RELIANT VILLAGES
AND COMMUNITIES.

WITH ADEQUATE ENERGY AND ENGINEERING APPLIED TO THE
USE OF EXISTING LAND RESOURCES, POTENTIAL GAINS IN
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY WILL ALSO BE GREATLY ENHANCED.

* * *

THE SILENT VOID OF SPACE MAY SEEM REMOTE FROM THESE
CHALLENGES, BUT THE INTRICATE ELECTRONICS OF A SPACE
SATELLITE CAN BE AS USEFUL TO EARTH-BOUND FARMERS AS A
NEW PLOW.

THE INDIAN AND
AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS...

THE INDIAN AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WILL TOMORROW
EXCHANGE DIPLOMATIC NOTES CONFIRMING THAT THE UNITED STATES
WILL PROGRAM ITS LANDSAT EARTH RESOURCES SATELLITE TO
TRANSMIT DATA DIRECTLY TO A GROUND RECEIVING STATION
THAT INDIA WILL OWN AND OPERATE.

THIS SATELLITE SERVICE WILL PROVIDE INDIA WITH
COMPREHENSIVE TOPOGRAPHIC AND MINERALS INFORMATION AND
TIMELY DATA ON THE EVER-CHANGING CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL,
WATER, AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES.

UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT, INDIA WILL MAKE
AVAILABLE TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES ANY INFORMATION THAT
AFFECTS THEM.

ALSO, INDIA HAS ALREADY RESERVED SPACE ON BOARD THE
AMERICAN SPACE SHUTTLE IN 1981 TO INITIATE A DOMESTIC
COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM, USING A SATELLITE DESIGNED
TO INDIAN SPECIFICATIONS.

WE ARE PLEASED THAT OUR SPACE TECHNOLOGY, TOGETHER
WITH INDIA'S SUPERB SPACE COMMUNICATIONS CAPABILITY, WILL
SERVE THE CAUSE OF PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

~~OUR GROWING SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION SHOULD BE
ANCHORED IN EXPANDED KNOWLEDGE OF EACH OTHER'S PEOPLE AND
CULTURES.~~

OUR SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES HAVE ALREADY ENRICHED THE
LIVES OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THEM, AND I
HOPE THE SAME HAS BEEN TRUE OF INDIAN PARTICIPANTS.

~~I WANT OUR EXCHANGES OF PERSONS AND INFORMATION
TO FLOURISH AND GROW.~~

IN MATTERS OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS, WE KNOW HOW
MUCH WE HAVE TO GAIN. NOT ONLY INDIA BUT ALSO THE REST
OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE MUCH TO OFFER US.
FROM WHICH WE MIGHT LEARN

I HOPE TO EXPAND . . .

I HOPE TO EXPAND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR
CITIZENS TO APPRECIATE THE STRONG AND VARIED CULTURE
IN THE NATIONS OF YOUR PART OF THE WORLD.

* * *

IN GLOBAL POLITICS, HISTORY HAS CAST OUR COUNTRIES
IN DIFFERENT ROLES.

THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THE TWO SO-CALLED
SUPERPOWERS; INDIA IS THE LARGEST OF THE NONALIGNED
COUNTRIES.

BUT EACH OF US RESPECTS THE OTHER'S CONCEPTION OF
ITS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE VALUES WE DO
SHARE PROVIDE A BASIS FOR COOPERATION IN ATTACKING THE
GREAT GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, HUMAN RIGHTS,
AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR.

THIS PURSUIT OF JUSTICE AND THE BUILDING OF A NEW
ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE WORLD MUST BE UNDERTAKEN IN WAYS
THAT PROMOTE CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT RATHER THAN
FRUITLESS CONFRONTATION. EVERY COUNTRY WILL SUFFER IF
THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IS PERMITTED TO FOUNDER.

BECAUSE INDIA IS BOTH A DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND AN
INDUSTRIAL POWER, YOU ARE IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO PROMOTE
CONSTRUCTIVE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION ABOUT TRADE, ENERGY,
INVESTMENT, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, TECHNOLOGY, AND OTHER
QUESTION. I WELCOME YOUR PLAYING THIS ROLE.

I KNOW THAT THERE WILL BE TIMES WE WILL DISAGREE ON
SPECIFIC ISSUES AND EVEN ON GENERAL APPROACHES TO LARGER
PROBLEMS. BUT I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT OUR SHARED INTERESTS
AND COMMON DEVOTION TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES WILL HELP US MOVE
TOWARD AGREEMENT ON IMPORTANT GLOBAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES.

BUT NEITHER OF US SEEKS TO ALIGN...

BUT NEITHER OF US SEEKS TO ALIGN WITH THE OTHER
EXCEPT IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. WE CAN EVEN
HELP EACH OTHER TO ALLEVIATE DIFFERENCES WHICH MIGHT EXIST
WITH OTHER NATIONS.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE PART OF A DEMOCRATIC WORLD
THAT INCLUDES NATIONS AT ALL STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT, FROM
SWEDEN AND JAPAN TO SRI LANKA AND COSTA RICA.

WE SHARE MANY COMMON PROBLEMS. WE ALSO SHARE AN
OBLIGATION TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS -- NOT BY INTERFERING
IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER NATIONS, NOT BY TRYING TO DENY
OTHER NATIONS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN POLITICAL OR
SOCIAL SYSTEM, BUT BY SPEAKING THE TRUTH AS WE SEE IT AND
BY PROVIDING AN ADMIRABLE EXAMPLE OF WHAT DEMOCRACY
CAN MEAN AND WHAT IT CAN ACCOMPLISH.

THE VALUES THAT INDIANS AND AMERICANS SHARE HAVE
DEEPLY AFFECTED MY OWN LIFE. I COME TO YOU AS A NATIONAL
LEADER, IN THE HOPE THAT MY VISIT WILL MARK A NEW AND HIGHER
STAGE IN THE STEADILY IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES. BUT IN A MORE PERSONAL SENSE -- A SENSE THAT
IS VERY CLOSE TO MY HEART -- I COME AS A PILGRIM.

THIS MORNING I HAD THE HONOR OF LAYING A WREATH ON
THE MEMORIAL TO MAHATMA GANDHI. IN THAT SACRED PLACE, SO
SIMPLE AND SERENE, I RECALLED ANEW THE WAYS IN WHICH
GANDHI'S TEACHINGS HAVE TOUCHED THE LIVES OF SO MANY
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN MY COUNTRY.

WHEN I WAS GROWING UP ON A FARM IN THE STATE OF
GEORGIA, IN THE HEART OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AN
INVISIBLE WALL OF RACIAL SEGREGATION STOOD BETWEEN ME
AND MY BLACK PLAYMATES AS SOON AS WE WERE OLD ENOUGH TO GO
TO SCHOOL.

IT SEEMED THEN AS IF THAT WALL...

IT SEEMED THEN AS IF THAT WALL WOULD EXIST
FOREVER.

BUT IT DID NOT STAND FOREVER. IT CRUMBLED AND FELL,
AND THOUGH THE RUBBLE HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETELY REMOVED,
IT NO LONGER SEPARATES US ONE FROM ANOTHER, BLIGHTING
THE LIVES OF THOSE ON BOTH SIDES OF IT.

AMONG THE MANY WHO MARCHED AND SUFFERED AND BORE
WITNESS AGAINST THE EVIL OF RACIAL PREJUDICE, THE
GREATEST WAS DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., A SON OF GEORGIA
AND A SPIRITUAL SON OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN THE LIFE AND WORK
OF DR. KING, APART FROM HIS OWN RELIGIOUS FAITH, WAS THE
LIFE AND WORK OF GANDHI. MARTIN LUTHER KING TOOK
ah-HIM-za and Sat-YA-gra-huh non-violence
GANDHI'S CONCEPTS OF [AHIMSA AND SATYAGRAHA] NON-VIOLENCE
AND TRUTH-FORCE -- AND PUT THEM TO WORK IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH.

LIKE GANDHI, KING BELIEVED THAT TRUTH AND LOVE
ARE THE STRONGEST FORCES IN THE UNIVERSE.

LIKE GANDHI, HE KNEW THAT ORDINARY PEOPLE, ARMED
ONLY WITH COURAGE AND FAITH, COULD OVERCOME INJUSTICE BY
APPEALING TO THE SPARK OF GOOD IN THE HEART OF THE
EVILDOER.

LIKE GANDHI, WE ALL LEARNED THAT A SYSTEM OF
OPPRESSION DAMAGES THOSE AT THE TOP OF IT AS SURELY AS
IT DOES THOSE AT THE BOTTOM.

AND FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, AS FOR MAHATMA GANDHI,
NON-VIOLENCE WAS NOT ONLY A POLITICAL METHOD, IT WAS A WAY
OF LIFE AND A SPIRITUAL PATH TO UNION WITH THE ULTIMATE.

THESE MEN SET A STANDARD OF COURAGE AND IDEALISM THAT
FEW OF US CAN MEET, BUT FROM WHICH ALL OF US CAN DRAW
INSPIRATION AND SUSTENANCE.

. . . HOW OUR POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES CAN
PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR DEALING WITH THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
STRAINS TO WHICH THEY WILL UNQUESTIONABLY BE SUBJECTED.

THE EXPERIENCE OF DEMOCRACY IS LIKE THE EXPERIENCE
OF LIFE ITSELF -- ALWAYS CHANGING, INFINITE IN ITS VARIETY,
SOMETIMES TURBULENT, AND ALL THE MORE VALUABLE FOR HAVING
BEEN TESTED BY ADVERSITY.

WE SHARE THAT EXPERIENCE WITH YOU AND DRAW STRENGTH
FROM IT.

WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND
YOURS, WE ARE MOVING ALONG THE PATH OF DEMOCRACY TOWARD
A COMMON GOAL OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

I KNOW I SPEAK FOR ALL AMERICANS WHEN I SAY THAT
I AM GRATEFUL THAT WE TRAVEL THAT ROAD TOGETHER.

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